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(*b*) Are the Government aware of the great inconvenience caused to motor cars on the said road near Kalpalakkadavu by a large number of sheep and lambs being allowed to stray constantly and collect at that part of the road ?

(*b*) Is there anything to prevent steps being taken, either at the instance of the police or those in charge of the road, under Section 11 aforesaid ?

MR. K. NARAYANAN PANDALAY (*Ag. Chief Secretary to Government*):

(*a*) There is no special officer ; but Police and Municipal officers are competent to act.

(*b*) Goats, kids and other cattle are frequently found straying on this and other roads.

(*c*) No. The Police have taken up 20 cases in the town of Trivandrum during the current year.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : Does not the Regulation in question refer to an officer being in charge of the roads ?

MR. K. NARAYANAN PANDALAY (*Ag. Chief Secretary to Government*) : It does refer.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : Then, why was not a separate officer put in charge of this Kalpalakkadavu road ?

MR. K. NARAYANAN PANDALAY (*Ag. Chief Secretary to Government*) : Probably because Government are under the impression that the police and municipal staff are for the time being enough for the purpose.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : Have the police taken any action with respect to the straying of cattle near the Kalpalakkadavu road ?

MR. K. NARAYANAN PANDALAY (*Ag. Chief Secretary to Government*) : Government will enquire.

GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET. (*Contd.*)

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*) : I rise to make a few brief observations on the budget statement presented by the learned Financial Secretary. I have hardly anything new to suggest; but I feel I should not omit to lay emphasis on certain aspects of popular grievances dealt with by the previous speakers and fundamentally associated with the financial policy. The Budget forecast may be a good or bad one ; but until at the close of the discussion when alone its intrinsic merits will be disclosed and when commonsense will have intervened to place either a wreath of glory on it or wrap it up in rags of disappointment, I say, until then, it is well that both praise and blame are withheld.

The late Mr. Sankarasubba Aiyar, that eminent statesman whose reputation has continued to grow in spite of his having been born a

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Travancorean, used to hold tenaciously to the view that a cash surplus amounting to a year's revenue in readily available form contributed to the stability of the finances of an Indian State and was essential, to use his own words, "to meet unforeseen circumstances and unavoidable obligations". The conservative taxpayer seems to have acquiesced in this view. But the policy in respect of the administration of the State finances underwent changes, and reproductive works are taking the place of cash balances. The wisdom of this policy does not appear to have been questioned. There might be differences of opinion as regards the methods adopted in the matter of its practical application in this country; but then the pity of it is that these reproductive works undertaken by Government either out of their cash balances or from money raised by loans seem kept out from the purview of this Council whose mouth is shut in respect of them. The curtain has not lifted from that singular process of metamorphosis of a loan into an investment within a very short time. I am omitting any reference to the railway either. It is feared that the tendency is to increase the number of subjects excluded from discussion by this Council.

To proceed to the budget statement. The most noticeable feature of Travancore administration is the steady and continued and disproportionate growth of its normal expenditure,—expenditure, I mean, on routine services and on ordinary usual Governmental functions. This has grown enormously of late. It is not that the day of securing a balance essential to meet unforeseen circumstances and unavoidable obligations is far off, but that the growth of expenditure has threatened the financial equilibrium of the State. I fully share the opinion expressed by some of the previous speakers that the financial situation is greatly disturbing. A casual survey of the trend of events would leave the impression that the expenditure is previously fixed and the money required for expenditure thus decided upon is subsequently found. It is not a case of cutting the coat according to the cloth. When during the last two years surpluses were shown, they were found associated either with elements of accident or with departmental neglect. An amount of money set apart for His Highness the Maha Raja's tours having lapsed and an amount sanctioned for the purchase of medicines for the poor having been left unused—thereby increasing the misery and sufferings of the poor—are instances in point. One thing only seems to be certain *viz.*, the expenditure has increased disproportionately and there is no inclination to curtail it. Another thing is also equally certain *i. e.*, the sources from which the revenue to keep up this expenditure is expected to be derived are uncertain.

In spite of disinclination to go over again the ground traversed by the previous speakers, a brief examination of the chief sources of revenue is believed to be of some interest. Rs. 46 lakhs are expected from Excise in the coming year against Rs. 42 lakhs in 1099. I am afraid the budget forecast has not taken into account the growing volume of public opinion against the drink evil which seems to threaten the extinction of this source of revenue. I am prepared to grant that

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this threat might remain idle for some little time; but it is more than probable that Government will in the near future be brought face to face with the contingency of a substantial reduction in the revenue from Excise. Any unexpected move in the social or political field might release forces that may oppose the tax on political reasons and accentuate the volume of discontent already existing against the drink evil. It may be noted that the amount budgetted for is about 22 per cent. of the total revenue. This is large. In Punjab, the Excise revenue bears a percentage of 11·4 to the total receipts. In United Provinces, it is 12·7 per cent. In Burma, it is 13·9 per cent. and for all India it is only 10 per cent. The high receipts now brought in are bound to disappear and Government will find itself forced by public opinion to adopt measures calculated to do away with the drink evil. My endeavour is to emphasise the fact that this revenue cannot be depended upon in any scheme of growth of expenditure.

Revenue from Customs might be regarded as fairly elastic and might grow in proportion to the growth of trade. Nearly Rs. 25½ lakhs are budgetted for for the coming year. There was even a fall in the customs revenue in 1099. The revised estimate for 1100 was Rs. 25,65,000 while the revenue anticipated for the coming year is Rs. 25,000 less. The growth of revenue from this source has been found by actual experience to be not as rapid as it is desired or anticipated from mere theoretical considerations. Nor has it kept pace with the progress of expenditure during the last few years.

The receipts under Salt are large and are a financial reserve of considerable elasticity; but unfortunately a very large portion of this income is dependent upon political factors outside this country. All of us know that the salt tax is intensely unpopular in British India mainly for political reasons, and political objections to a tax are bound to weigh in future decisions as regards its continuance, reduction or total abolition. It is therefore unsafe to place much reliance on this source, in fixing a policy of disproportionate expenditure.

Income tax is another source. This may bring in a revenue in proportion to the growth in our customs revenue; but the rate of increase has not been encouraging. It was Rs. 5 lakhs in the year 1098. The budget forecast for the coming year is only about Rs. 6⅓ lakhs. This new revenue has not grown to the extent it was anticipated and I am afraid it cannot.

Revenue from Stamps has reached the limits of elasticity and there is an outcry against recent enhancements. Further enhancements are likely to be stoutly resisted.

The income from Railways is likely to be fluctuating. It has brought in only one per cent. of the total revenue; and as regards the future also, this source of income cannot be entirely dissociated from variations, and uncertainties.

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The last resource is the land. Revenue from this source might remain more or less stationary. But its stability will depend upon the agricultural prosperity of the land and on the economic well-being of the ryot. Land revenue is now levied without any consideration for the taxable capacity of the ryot. The majority of the agricultural holdings are extremely uneconomical. In other words, they cannot afford the burden of land revenue. A good deal of the present land revenue is taken from what is barely necessary for the upkeep of the peasantry. The produce of the cultivator, even if he were left to the sole enjoyment of it, is barely enough to meet his ordinary wants and from this produce he has to pay the land tax. The choice is between cultivating the land and starving. The attachment of the people of this country to land is so strong that they will not part with their land though they would allow it to continue to remain on mortgage. The land revenue policy of the Government has been determined by the fundamental idea of raising the largest amount of revenue therefrom and is defended by whatever theoretical considerations that would lend themselves to this idea, in absolute disregard of the economic condition of the ryot. To make matters worse, this demand is collected by methods which work oppression on the ryot and are designed to bring in more revenue to the State. Over five lakhs of demand notices have been issued in the year 1099 and Rs. 18 lakhs have been collected by coercive methods. With a village staff costing Rs. 3 lakhs annually, there was difficulty in collecting an *ayacut* revenue of about Rs. 36 lakhs without employing methods of oppression in respect of more than half of this amount! If half the revenue due to Government could only be collected by coercive methods, the inference should be regarded as reasonable that the ryot is unable to pay. The fees realised from demand notices are an additional oppressive burden on the impoverished ryot and seem to bear the character of a new tax in departmental disguise.

Puduval lands are put up to auction and the evil passions of a peasantry traditionally attached to land are aroused. With a view to increase the revenue, the sentiments of the people are exploited and the result is that very many of the *puduval* registry-holders stand doomed to-day and are caught in the clutches of moneylenders. Land is rapidly passing from the hands of the cultivator to the moneylender and 40 per cent. of the mortgages and sales of immovable property formed alienations made by agriculturists in favour of non-agriculturists in the year 1099. *Puduval* lands suitable for cultivation appear to have been all sold away and even this questionable procedure is not likely to bring in more revenue. The revenue from the sale of Government lands fell from Rs. 4 lakhs in 1098 to Rs. 3½ lakhs in 1099. The estimated amount of Rs. 4¼ lakhs for the current year was not forthcoming and the anticipations for the coming year are likely to end in disappointment.

Poramboke creation has been another feature of the land revenue administration, the proved inequity of which has led Government to modify this rule after they had done much in the direction of oppressing

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the ryot. Even *Poramboke* activities seem to have exhausted themselves and should cease to bring in more revenue.

A new source of oppression has now been brought in, by the increase sanctioned in fees for distraint of movables, attachment and sale of movable property, tom-tom charges and transport and conveyance charge. To the burden of a ryot groaning under the difficulties to pay up his land tax, these imposts are quite recently added.

The land tax turns out to be not at all a tax upon *ability* but entirely upon *liability*. The cultivator of a small holding is only an agricultural labourer whose crime is that he prefers to live on his own land. The tax levied on his holding is practically a tax on the proceeds of his agricultural labour. I stress these points to show how strong public opinion is in the direction of securing to the impoverished ryot his much needed redress and how likely it is for revenue from this source also to go down. The foundations on which Mr. George builds up his optmism appear to me to be shaky and his assurances as to the stability of our finances seem based on unsupportable data.

If the idea is to secure the stability of the finances of the State, there should be no hesitation in effecting relentless cuts in our expenditure and in practising an all-round economy and, more than all, in raising the taxable capacity of the people. Expenditure decided by severe scrutiny to be absolutely unavoidable should be fixed. It is generally believed that there is considerable scope for retrenchment. The army costs about 33 per cent. of the total revenues to the Indian Government, while in Travancore it costs only about 2½ per cent. Let the cost of the civil administration be kept as high as in British India. The question is, cannot the expenses in Travancore be cut down to an extent proportionate to the excess of the Imperial Government's expenditure on their army? The view is generally held that, considered from the point of view of the resources of the State, the Travancore officials are extravagantly paid. The impression seems to be correct in respect of several of them. A departmental head on monthly emoluments aggregating to Rs. 2,000 is really unsupportable by the revenues of the State. But this is exceptional. No doubt, there is large scope for combining departmental functions now separately discharged. High salaries and arduous duties and responsibilities ought to go together. There are appointments that are wholly superfluous. A high-paid Land Revenue Commissioner, four high-paid Dewan Peishkars and a costly Superintendent of Survey during the intervals of settlement are unmitigated luxuries for the Government of a small State and are an unjustifiable burden on the impoverished taxpayer.

There is not only large scope but great justification for the reduction of allowances of many kinds. Economy might be practised in many directions. Contingent expenses may be cut down.

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As regards raising the taxable capacity of the people, I desire to make a few observations. The economic condition of the people is really deplorable. In the words of a great thinker,

"The test of the people's prosperity is not the extension of exports, the multiplication of manufactures or other industries, or the construction of cities. No. A prosperous country is one in which the great mass of the inhabitants are able to procure, with moderate toil, what is necessary for living human lives of frugal and assured comfort."

None of us here are strangers to the sight of a portion of our population, be it small or large, going without food and living without a decent covering for their bodies. A great portion of the people are struggling for bare life. Life is low and obsessed by the gnawing anxiety as to the necessaries of life. This is a situation that loudly calls for concentration of efforts on schemes for material amelioration. The industries that supply the necessaries of life in the shape of food, clothing and shelter should be sufficiently developed; and as long as this is not done, it would be misdirection of efforts, if not a social crime, to consider other questions. I welcome the following announcement made by the Financial Secretary:

"It seems to Government that we shall be making a serious mistake if we expend our energies or resources for the development of the factory industries in Travancore. Our industrial efforts might with advantage be directed towards the development and creation of cottage industries. The lump provision of Rs. '30 lakh is a first modest step in this direction."

This announcement should rightly earn the gratitude of Travancore. The economic condition of the country is enfeebled by the continuous drain of its wealth. The land is left to be exploited by foreigners. The salaries paid to a great many officers are taken out of this country and not expended here. The money remitted to different parts of India to support young men undergoing instruction in colleges due to insufficiency of accommodation here is another source of drain. The ryot is economically ruined by the location of civil courts and criminal courts and sub-registry offices in distant places. The average pendency of a case in civil court is 16 months. A ryot seeking to recover a hundred rupees from his debtor would have to put in his appearance at least on 16 occasions and would be put to money losses in excess of the amount he seeks to recover. A ryot wishing to lodge a complaint in respect of the theft of an article worth about a rupee will have to spend at least twice that amount before he is enabled to get at the Inspector of Police. These and many other things due to unsuitable departmental adjustments also work the ruin of the ryot.

Official incapacity is another source that works the ruin of the ryot. If 75 per cent. of the decisions of a Munsiff are reversed on appeal, where is the satisfaction for the party who pays for his justice in the shape of innumerable court-fees?

There is no knowing what the average income per head of the Travancorean is. It is variously estimated in British India. Commonsense suggests the fact that the average income in Travancore should be considerably less. The rate of income tax in British India is 9 per cent. while it is only about $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in Travancore. It has to be

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remembered that the Travancorean has to buy foreign rice for Rs. 5, to pay an average tax per head of Rs. 5, and, excluding population below fifteen years of age, to pay nearly Rs. 2 on arrack and toddy and opium and ganja. What is the margin left for the bare necessaries of life? The means for elevating the condition of the masses and for raising their taxable capacity should be found. The one that is already in the field is the co-operative movement. It has taken root in the land and is bound to be a potent factor in the advancement and moral uplift of the masses. The ultimate success of the movement lies in the gradual disappearance of the official element. Voluntary workers, called to their task by a missionary sense, should be found to lead the movement and spread ideas of co-operation amongst the masses. They will do the work in a few years which the official might vainly struggle to do in as many decades. The cost to Government in connection with this movement has increased. The sum of Rs. 28,000 spent in 1099 is expected to grow to Rs. 46,500 in the coming year. Out of this, only Rs. 2,000 is set apart for the travelling allowances of Honorary Organisers and for expenses in connection with conferences. A department intended to teach economy and thrift to the impoverished ryot should not even appear guilty of extravagance. Honorary workers should be encouraged. Their travelling and other unavoidable expenses should be met. They should be assisted by peons or other servants. The aim of the movement being the economic uplift of the masses, Government should undertake to finance the scheme even by raising loans and lending the money to societies. They should also provide an annual grant for co-operative education and propaganda, and include co-operation as a subject of teaching in technical schools.

PRESIDENT: Time.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): Sir, the Budget presented by the Financial Secretary discloses in my view an entirely sound and satisfactory state of our finances. The standard by which the financial standing of a State or Government is to be judged is quite different from that which we employ in measuring individuals or families or judging their financial stability or solvency. I am afraid that the several criticisms that were directed against the Financial Secretary were due to a radical misconception of this vital difference. If we are to judge by the standards or methods set up by all civilised Governments, I have not the least misgiving about the finances of our country. Our country is not subject to devastating famines or epidemics. We have got our two monsoons and a fairly fertile soil. We have got a very satisfactory system of permanent tenure as regards land. For all these reasons, the revenue of the country is not likely to be seriously affected under any conceivable circumstances. Therefore, though the expenses of the State may be increasing in meeting the demands of a progressive administration, there is no reason to fear that the revenue will not keep

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pace with these demands. As regards the liability side of the State finances, the floating debts such as deposits in savings banks and departmental and Devaswom deposits, I think the actual cash in hand as well as the short-term deposits in Banks etc., are more than sufficient; and, as regards the long term-loan raised for the construction of the Railway, the Government are providing a sinking fund at the annual rate of Rs. 2 lakhs which, we are told, will, by the year 1945 or thereabouts, when the loan will fall due, be more than sufficient, with the compound interest due thereon, to wipe off the debt. Under these circumstances, I do not at all see that our finances are in any way in a peculiarly unsatisfactory situation.

There are several aspects of the Financial Secretary's statement about which, if time permitted, one should have liked to offer a few observations. But owing to the severe restrictions upon the time allowed to speakers, I am compelled to give up the idea and to restrict myself rigorously to one or two subjects. The Financial Secretary towards the close of his address referred to 'the staggering growth of our expenditure on education'. He pointed out that the net expenditure on education in 1085 was Rs. 5,84,000 and that in 1100 it had grown to Rs. 30,87,000 and he goes on to say:

"Thus within the last 16 years, the expenditure on Education has increased by 528 per cent. This disproportionate growth cannot but be viewed with serious misgivings. Nobody denies the fact that that the education of the subjects of a State is of paramount importance to its well-being and progress, and expenditure judiciously incurred will be repaid several fold in the increased prosperity of the people. But I am sure the House will agree that a headlong, impetuous career must be checked."

Those are serious words coming from the Financial Secretary. When we realise that, owing to the automatic working out of the schemes already sanctioned and owing to other causes, even if we do not embark upon new schemes, the educational budget is likely to go up very much more than it has already gone, and when it is further realised that one of the most insistent demands in this House has been that the salary of the primary school teachers both in departmental and grant-in-aid schools should be very considerably augmented by about Rs. 5 per month for each teacher—I have been told that the increase of one rupee per mensem in the salaries of the teachers of Vernacular schools may bring about an increase of nearly Rs. 1 lakh per year —the staggering nature of the demand on the resources of the State will become quite vivid. Nobody can hold that the demands of these poor-paid but very deserving primary school teachers should not be met. They should be met even at some sacrifice of other amenities of life in the country. But how to do it? What the sources are from which these demands could be satisfied, deserves the serious consideration of the Government and of this House and also of the public at large. It is not enough that we should say that the expenses should be increased on this side or that side, but it is our duty also to point out the wherewithal for doing so. I myself, while agreeing that these demands are very reasonable and just and should be complied with at the earliest possible opportunity, do not claim that I possess any cut and dry scheme,

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One obvious reason for this unsatisfactory state is said to be the faulty nature of the policy pursued with regard to education. Well, this cry of the educational policy being at fault is not of to-day or yesterday. Ever since I have been able to take some interest in this question, I have been hearing, whether from new Dewans or from new Directors of Public Instruction, that, by overhauling and by re-shaping the educational policy, a new Utopia could be created. I have myself helped sometimes at the birth pangs, sometimes at the death struggles, of several of these schemes of reorganisation; but in spite of all the high hopes with which they were ushered in we have not found that we were very much better off after than before these reforms. I therefore would urge upon the House that its authority and weight should not be lent to any hasty scheme of reorganisation and that proper care should be taken that, if we once again make a change in the machinery or policy of our Educational Department or in our policy, it should be done with all due circumspection and that the result obtained should be commensurate with the expense of time and money involved.

One or two reasons for this unsatisfactory state of things which occur to me now, I may be permitted briefly to mention. It is admitted that primary education should be made as cheap as possible consistently with efficiency; but, a few years ago, when Dr. Mitchell became the Director of Public Instruction, the policy he enunciated and insisted upon was calculated to produce anything but economy. We in our younger generation were satisfied with having our schooling in thatched buildings, which would not have cost more than Rs. 200 or 300. But as a result of Dr. Mitchell's reform, even primary schools had to be housed in costly buildings which sometimes cost as much as Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 and even Rs. 10,000. The existing Government schools were pulled down and new buildings were built up. Government give substantial grants-in-aid for the new buildings built by the people. I have not got any correct figures as to now many lakhs of rupees were spent or mis-spent in that direction. We are now informed by education experts elsewhere that the students, especially children, should be taught as much as possible in the open air or in the shade of some overhanging trees. Anyhow, this kind of building with brick walls and tiled roof, and costly windows and doors—all this is quite unsuitable and unnecessary for teaching little children in primary schools. That was a policy which was very strictly and rigorously insisted upon, and Dr. Mitchell gave us to understand that that would be the salvation of the country. It was with difficulty that the rigour of that rule was relaxed owing to the insistent pressure of public opinion. I do not know whether the last vestiges of that rigour have been completely shed. I am not myself in touch with the latest developments in the policy of education.

Another policy that Dr. Mitchell pursued was to bring about a considerable increase in the cost of text-books. We say we have got free

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primary education. I have been informed—even here I speak subject to correction—that the price of text books and note-books which the Education Code prescribes as absolutely obligatory sometimes came to something like Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 or thereabouts on an average per year. In our younger days we had to pay a school fee of 4 chs. per year. Later on, it rose to 7 chs. per year. Here, you take away the fees in primary schools, but at the same time you impose upon the parents and guardians a very heavy burden of somewhere between Rs. 5 and Rs. 10 That is not really free primary education. Immediately after this new system came into vogue, publishers of the highest repute in England like Messrs. Macmillan & Co., and Longmans Green & Co., competed for a share of the golden harvest that was available in Travancore by publishing text books for Vernacular Schools. The members of the Text Book Committee—for some time I was myself a member of that committee—and also the authorities who had been invested with the duty of prescribing text books also fought for a share in the spoils, so that oftentimes very many more text books than could be taught in the year were prescribed and their purchase by the pupils made obligatory. Sometimes, one or two chapters of a costly book were prescribed in one class and a few other chapters in another class; and these books were repeatedly changed. Some of these provisions have been undgergoing changes. But in earlier years, this was the system introduced in the name of free primary education. This kind of policy is not surely conducive to the dissemination of cheap popular education. In my school days, I remember that the text books used in the vernacular schools were prepared by the old Text Book Committee under the presidentship of the late Kerala Varma Valia Koil Tampuran and these books were published by the Government and sold at a very low price. Therefore, there was no room for this kind of scramble for profits on text books. The unconscionable profits some people made through text-books is really blood money. When there was an opportunity, nobody could find fault with the people if they tried to make a living by that. Anyhow, it would be highly desirable if we revert to the older system and, except in the case of English books for use in the higher forms of English schools, arrange that all other books should be compiled by a competent committee. Further, if Government could undertake the publication of these books and sell them at the cheapest possible rate, that is a policy which would be commendable. These are some of the directions in which the policy could be very beneficially altered.

Another suggestion which I would make with a great deal of trepidation is this. I just now mentioned that it would be possible to take away the burden of parents and guardians if we make some wholesome changes with regard to the text books and note-books which they were obliged to purchase. Concurrently with this reform, I have often wondered—I do not press it upon the House—whether it would not be possible to introduce a small scale of fees in the primary schools. You may make it absolutely free to the depressed classes like the Pulayas and the Parayas and also you might see that free scholarships are given

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to poor and deserving members of other communities. But in regard to the majority of the students belonging to other communities, a small fee of 7 or 10 chackrams a month may not be felt to be a heavy burden.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Which of the classes?

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): Primary classes.

Another way in which the burden of the Government could be lightened is by encouraging competent private agencies to share with the Government in the propagation of education. As to what the policy of the Government should be towards private agencies, there had been difference of opinion. But owing to the growing nature of the burden upon Government, if for no other reason, all Governments, I think, have now been obliged to come to the conclusion that private agencies should be given the greatest possible encouragement in sharing with the Government the task of giving education to the children of the country.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): May I know whether Mr. Mammen Mappillai is able to tell the House anything about the circumstances which led the Government to pursue the present policy of excluding private agencies as far as possible?

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I do not quite follow.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): I want to know whether he is aware of the circumstances which led the Government to exclude private agencies from participation in educational co-operation with the Government.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I do not say that Government exclude the private agencies. I said the encouragement of private effort is the policy which has been admitted as reasonable and just by our Government. What I was going to say when Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai interrupted me was that there have been times when some headstrong head of the educational department thought that it would be better and much more advantageous if private agencies could be swept off and the whole burden of imparting education could be borne by Government.

PRESIDENT: Time.

MR. S. C. H. ROBINSON (*Land Revenue and Income Tax Commissioner*): Supposing out of the 20 minutes allowed to a speaker in the budget discussion, ten minutes are taken up with questions put to him, will that also be taken into consideration in calculating the time?

PRESIDENT: I am afraid that will mean my keeping a very careful mathematical calculation.

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MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): Sir, divergent views have been expressed as regards the financial position of our country. Some members have said that our finances are in a prosperous condition, while others regretted that our finances are not stable and may perhaps get reduced and that they were in a deplorable condition. I would agree with those who say that our financial position is not very secure. One of the speakers has referred to the main heads of revenue and showed that there is no further scope for increasing the revenue under those heads, while, at the same time, the expenditure is rising by leaps and bounds. From a perusal of this year's budget and a comparison of it with the previous ones, one would find that the least flutter in the condition of the country is sufficient to affect our receipts. In 1098, the Financial Secretary said:

> "On the whole, though we cannot prognosticate any rapid improvement in financial conditions, we have, I think, good grounds for confidence that we have passed the period of acute depression and that more hopeful and prosperous times are in store for us".

Next year, the confidence of the Financial Secretary seems to have been shaken by the ravages caused by the floods and he predicted a deficit. This year he has again become jubilant. This alternate succession of hopes and fears seems to be the keynote of our financial position. An year of sunshine is followed by another of gloom and apprehensions. One of the speakers said that our receipts would increase in proportion to our expenditure. No doubt, our receipts so far have been sufficient to meet the expenditure we have incurred. But this has been done by additional taxation. I am of opinion that our country is not in a condition to bear any additional tax.

The Deputy President, the other day, was able to refer only to two heads of revenue, with regard to which additional taxation could be imposed. One was the produce of the rubber plantations. To-day we may hear that rubber planters are making a profit; but tomorrow we may hear that they are working at a loss. It is noteworthy that when my friend, the Deputy President, was referring to the imposition of taxes on rubber, the price of rubber was said to be about Rs. 3 per lb. If my information today is correct, the price of rubber has gone down from Rs. 3 to Rs. 1½ or still less. I would say, therefore, it would be more than unmerciful to tax the producers of rubber in a condition when nobody knows what the price of rubber would be.

Another source, from which my friend suggested that additional income could be obtained, was the taxation of agricultural produce of *Edavakais*. In that case also, he was disturbed by the fact that certain rubber companies made large profits and that they were not paying any income tax upon their profits. But he did not suggest any safety for the poor ryots whose agricultural income also would be taxable if the Income Tax Regulation is amended on the lines proposed by him.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I never proposed any amendment like that. I only said that it was a matter for Government to consider whether it did not require amendment.

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MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): It was his suggestion.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): How it is to be amended, I did not say.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): He said that the ryots in the *Edavakais* were not paying any tax to Government, from which I inferred that, according to him, the ryots also should be made to pay income tax on the agricultural produce. Evidently he forgot the fact that the ryots are paying land revenue, if not to Government, to the proprietors of the *Edavakais*, at the instance of the Government. Nobody prevents the Government from giving a direction to these ryots that this revenue must be paid direct to Government.

MR. S. C. H. ROBINSON (*Land Revenue and Income Tax Commissioner*): May I point out that at the time the old Income Tax Regulation was sought to be amended by the Income Tax Regulation Amendment Bill, it was with the object of making the *Jenmi* pay income tax to Government? We did not consider it fair to ask the tenant to pay. We felt that the *Jenmi*, who did not pay land revenue or any revenue to Government, should bear his share of the burden of taxation by paying some tax to Government. That is the line, I think, in which Mr. Subba Aiyar, the Deputy President, suggested an amendment. We did not want the tenant to pay. We wanted the *Jenmi* to pay. It was clearly stated by the Select Committee.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): If I understand the Commissioner of Income Tax and Land Revenue, he seems to have no objection to the *Edavakai* chiefs being made liable to pay income tax, but not the tenants. I am also urging the same point. But I referred to the speech of my friend, the Deputy President, wherein he advocated the advisability of amending the present Income Tax Regulation so that the tenants also might be made liable to pay income tax. My objection was only to that. As regards the present Regulation as it is, I have no objection.

In these circumstances, Sir, I would bring to the notice of Government the fact that there is no possibility of introducing any new tax in the country. What we should do is to see that our small revenue is not whittled down in useless directions. We should take particular care that the money we earmark for any definite purpose is really expended for it and nothing is allowed to be tapped by burglars either from within or without. The complaint about the wastage of money by the spending departments is a long-standing one. Government have not been able either to find a remedy for the waste or in any way to allay the suspicions of the people. Take for instance the Public Works Department. One of your predecessors, Sir, it is said, had to refer to this Department as the "plundering department". Without disparagement to any individual, I may state that the condition in this department is, and has ever been, a deplorable one. The slipshod way in which works are being carried out and the inordinate delay in their completion, the

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method in which contracts are given, are some of the matters that cannot be tolerated. Perhaps matters in the P. W. D. have become incorrigible by the sanctity of ages and the imprimatur of tradition. I would not be surprised if some one lays claim to have a lien upon the conduct of the department in this fashion. However, Sir, it is high time that this condition of affairs is put a stop to. If the subordinates of the department cannot be corrected by the Government by ordinary methods, some drastic measures must be found out. Expenditure of money in the Department must be made with the concurrence of the people of the locality wherein it is to be spent. Government must see that the departmental subordinates are not given such a free hand in the matter as at present. Local bodies or District Boards must be created and expenditure within definite districts met only with the concurrence of those bodies. This seems to be, Sir, the only method by which wastage may be prevented. I spoke of one department; but what I said of the P. W. D. is true of every department which is engaged in the spending of money on the pretext of benefiting the people.

I have said that we must be careful to see that our money is not wasted or plundered away. Another thing we have to consider is that our expenses under the various heads are proportionate to our income. The Financial Secretary admitted that our allotment for education is a "staggering" one. The increase in the allotment for education has been going on for a dangerously long time. I think it is time that we look back. The expenditure under this head has to be reduced without affecting the efficiency of education. The policy inaugurated by Dr. Mitchell is undoubtedly the cause of this abnormal drain on our coffers. The Budget shows we are going to spend next year about Rs. 39 lakhs out of a total estimated receipt of Rs. 206 lakhs. About a fifth part of the receipts is earmarked for education. This is too high a proportion. More than what we collect as net Land Revenue is spent for the purpose of education. On looking into the Budget, one would not be surprised at this enormous sum. Some 8,000 to 10,000 persons are being employed by the Government in this Department. It is an army in itself. The bulk of this figure is in the Vernacular section where, if we exclude a few high-paid officers, the condition of the vernacular teahers is pitiable. We cannot say therefore it is high pay that eats up our revenue. There is not much scope for wastage or plunder in this department, though it may not be wholly free from the stain. Reduction in this item of expenditure can only be effected by reversing the policy which brought this trouble upon us. The country has at present a high percentage of literacy. The people can themselves undertake the task of educating their children. The schools conducted by the people are in no way less efficient than the Government schools. On the contrary, it is seen that discipline and instruction are better in private schools. Why not entrust as many Government schools as possible to private agencies? I would approve the suggestions made by Mr. M. Subrahmanya Pillai in this connection. Our goal must be to further the educational efficiency of the people and at the same time to

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reduce the expenditure under that head. The amount paid as pension to retired officers is also too high a figure, considering the amount of the receipts. It is hoped that Government will take some steps to reduce the amount.

So much as regards the conservation of our revenue. We must not be satisfied with conserving what we obtain, but must try to make our financial condition prosperous. The improvement in the condition of the people will naturally result in returning increased revenue to Government. The chief object of every Government must be to improve the condition of the people. This can be done only by developing the natural resources of the State. Travancore is an agricultural land. Our export consists of the natural products of our land, and our industry mainly centres round the product of the cocoanut tree. The Director of Agriculture has stated on former occasions in this House that we must not attempt to raise foreign crops on our lands but that the existing ones must be improved. I think that is the right attitude. The crops for which our land is fit and which have been found by the experience of years to be profitable must be improved. That theory is admitted to be the correct one; but when we come to the practical side of the question, it has to be said that the result is very discouraging. What has Government or the Agricultural Department done to improve the natural resources of our land? No doubt, large amounts of money are being spent every year. Is the result commensurate with the expense? Has the department been able to increase the productive capacity of our fields and gardens? The cost involved in the use of the manures advocated by the Department is prohibitive. The experiments conducted have been failures. The cocoanut pest, which is as old as the Agricultural Department itself, if not older, has been spreading with unchecked rapidity. It has now assumed alarming proportions. It is even said that, within a space of 20 or 30 years, the cocoanut palm will disappear from Travancore. What steps have Government taken to arrest the progress of this blight? Has the Department justified its existence by finding out a practical remedy? If the cocoanut blight continues to ravage with the rapidity which it is now evincing, what will become of our chief export trade? What will become of our coir manufacture? The boasted prosperity of Travancore will be a thing of the past. It may be said that I am too pessimistic. But a local inspection of the condition of North Travancore will convince any one of the reasonableness of my apprehensions.

Large amounts are also being spent upon the development of industries. Here also I would plead for the cause of the industries now in existence. The attempt to introduce exotics into the State is sure to be met with disappointment. Such of the industries as have naturally evolved out of the conditions of the country and such others as can with moderate expense be evolved out of them must be developed. But on the whole I am of opinion that we cannot expect the sudden evolution of large industries in Travancore. It is a well-known principle of politi-

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cal economy that a fertile country will not become a very highly industrial centre. It will be more profitable to cultivate the lands and export the produce; and the people will naturally take to it. In a barren land, the people will be forced to have recourse to industrial pursuits as they will not be able to get what they want from agriculture. The industries that exist in fertile countries will be those that are closely connected with their natural products. I believe these principles must be borne in mind when embarking upon industrial schemes in Travancore. With the increase in population and the exhaustion of our soil, we shall find that we may not be able to get on with the profits from agriculture. We shall at that time be looking for other pursuits; and industries may then succeed better. I do not advocate the discouragement of industrial undertakings or wish to blame the Industries Department; I am only pointing out that we should not be very sanguine about the progress of industries all on a sudden and that what we have to do is to spend more on such forms of industries as can be developed with our natural products.

I stated that the duty of every Government must be to develop the natural resources of the country through agriculture and industry. In order that the people may take to these pursuits, they must be sufficiently educated. This is an important function which the Government have to perform. Government must not be satisfied with imparting literary education alone. The present system of education is fundamentally defective. The system was started some centuries back by the East India Company with a view to train up some clerks for work in the offices of the Company in India. That system is being still followed. The result is that the whole land is now flooded with men of literary attainments both in English and Vernacular. They are the direct descendants of the clerks whom the East India Company employed in their firms and so they know only the art of corresponding and copying. They knock at the doors of firms and public offices for entry with the hope of following the footsteps of their professional progenitors who found salvation within. But the times are changed. The rooms are filled with their brothers who had gone before and the doors are closed. They return to their homes to find that they are unfit to follow the avocations of the country. Their education has given them a status in which it would be degradation to take up the spade or the spindle. Nor have they the knowledge necessary to carry on any profitable business of their own. They swallowed the talisman prepared for the attainment of clerkships and the medicine had the desired effect; it is too late even for any antidote to take effect. Sir, you will see this country in common with the rest of India burdened with an army of men branded with the mark of "passes" roaming about in search of employment. They are all men of intelligence and character. They form the flower of the youth of the country. But they have no opportunities to utilise their mind or body for the good of the country or of themselves. They are forced to spend their life in indolence and discontent. If their education had been such as could have equipped them for the pursuits of the country, we would not have been faced with the problem of the unemployment of the literate. The illiterate are happy in their farmsteads and gardens

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or in their shops and warehouses. It is unfortunate that the literate and the intelligent have to waste their potential worth in the hope of getting into some Government Department for years to come.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): Sir, it has been observed by several of my friends on this side of the House that a surplus budget is no test of the prosperity of a country. While this may be so, a Government may well be congratulated if it is able, without imposing additional taxation or imperilling the future resources of the country, to present a surplus budget after meeting all the demands for the efficient administration of the State. So, I would congratulate the Financial Secretary on his budget for 1101. In it provision is made for additional allotments to all the departments working for the progressive welfare of the people, though they are not very liberal. One can well appreciate the caution exercised by a new Head of the Administration in venturing on additional expenditure on new developments, before he studies the situation in the country and forms his opinions on the best way of spending public money for the material and moral advancement of the people. We may feel confident that when the new Dewan, whom Providence has called back to his native country to serve its people, will, when he has studied the situation with that sympathy and insight which must characterise him, not be sparing in his allotments for those departments that are concerned with the development of the material and moral resources of the country. It is gratifying to observe from the speech of the Financial Secretary that Government have put their cash balance and their sinking funds in interest-bearing investments instead of leaving them idle in the Treasury, and that this has increased our receipts by several lakhs.

With these preliminary remarks, I shall proceed to make a few observations on some of the chief defects in our administrative system at present.

Though I cannot quite agree with my friend Mr A. K. Pillai, that all the high officers are suffering from 'unemployment', I may say that it is a question whether their time and energies are being devoted to work which is really necessary or useful for the good of the people, and whether there is no scope for modifying the matter and method of their work so as to free them from unnecessary paper work. An enquiry may be made by a strong committee of officials and non-officials on this subject. Though an Efficiency Audit Officer had been working for some time, the public have not been informed of the results of his labours.

Another point, I wish to speak about is the prevailing feeling of security among the higher officers about their places and emoluments in spite of neglect, or even offences, of a serious nature. Except in cases where judicial courts have convicted officers, we have seldom heard of any higher grade officer being seriously punished for any neglect or misdemeanour. Unfortunately the public cannot rest satisfied with the conviction that this is owing to the extraordinary integrity and efficiency of our officers. While Government ought to be just to their officers, justice is equally due to the taxpayers to serve whom the former are ap-

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pointed. We know how officers have escaped practically scot-free when they have directly or indirectly caused loss of public money. It is high time, Sir, that a wholesome fear is instilled into the minds of the higher officers that they will inevitably suffer the consequences of their neglect or crime, and cannot always manage to shirk the responsibility from off their own shoulders to those of their poor subordinates. I may refer to one or two illustrations. Year after year, we find the Dewan deploring in the Administration Report that the work of registering *puduvals* in the names of members of the depressed classes is not satisfactorily done. Either the Government should declare that it is not the fault of the officers concerned, or punish those officers so that they may be more faithful in the discharge of their duties. During Sir P. Rajagopalachari's regime, it was ordered that the Vaikam Vernacular School for Girls should be open to all classes. Objections were raised that it is too near the temple. Then it was ordered that the school should be removed to another site. The plans, estimates and the order for acquiring the land have all been made. But the thing has not yet been done though two Dewans have come and gone after him. What does this mean? It means that the officers know that, whatever policy Government may lay down to benefit the depressed classes or the backward classes, they can with impunity thwart all such plans and do what they like. It may also mean that the Government too are not as sincere as their general orders might make one believe. If they are to be free from such a charge, such officers should be adequately punished. We know that, if an officer was lax or not satisfactory in making arrangements for the tour of a higher officer or some distinguished personage, he would be made to feel more tangibly for his neglect.

Another point with regard to the public service is the question of promotions. The prevailing system practically recognises only seniority in service for promotion. No officer, who escapes degradation or suspension, need fear that he will not mechanically be pushed up to the highest place, if he is not retired before it. Nor can any officer, whatever special merits he may possess, expect to get any special consideration on that account. This is not at all conducive to our getting the best from our public servants. It is necessary that a scheme should be devised, so that, after a certain stage, officers should be able to earn promotion by showing special merit, by the Government introducing an efficiency bar at that stage.

Connected with this is a defect in the present system of recruiting for all grades of the public service. Now a young man has only one way to get into the service, that is, by starting on Rs. 40 or less, whether he is a B. A., or an M. A., a first class or a third class man. He has then to plod through all the grades of service, engaged in all sorts of soul-killing drudgery work, at an age when his powers are at their best. It is only, if at all, when he is on the verge or the wrong side of fifty that he gets into any place of real responsibility where there is any scope for initiative or organising powers. But very little spirit or even physical energy would be left in him, as a rule, to do much useful work then, except to carry on the routine work of office. This will be the

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case especially because he sees that the time for retirement is close at hand. Thus we find that our executive officers are not so active and energetic as the officers of corresponding rank in Mysore or British India. We have often pressed for a remedy for this. It is to recruit officers of a certain grade, say those drawing Rs. 150 or Rs. 125 by competitive examinations, for all departments, making a few exceptions, if necessary, so that these may come up to the higher ranks when they are still in full possession of their physical and mental powers, in all their freshness and vigour.

Repeated observations have been made about reducing the pay of higher officers. I fear it is not practical politics. All that we can really do is to see that, by removing the defects above mentioned, the public are enabled to get out of all their officers a just return for their outlay on them, and not allow the officers to be a means of causing the taxpayer loss of money by neglect, oppression or dishonesty.

At the beginning of a new administration, one is tempted to emphasise the need for continuity in the policy of Government, though the Head of the Administration may change. We have in the past suffered from lack of such continuity, so that a scheme, on which public time and money have been spent, has either been shelved or worked so half-heartedly as to prevent the benefits contemplated from accruing to the State. We are glad that the State-aided Bank will receive all the help from Government, which they can reasonably give. There is another scheme announced in the late administration, which is calculated to relieve unemployment to a certain extent and increase the volume of production in the country. I mean the Land Colonisation Scheme It is hoped that the scheme will be earnestly pushed through by the Government and everything done to induce people to take advantage of it and to make it a success.

In connection with avoidable expenditure, I am led to speak a few words on the swelling figure under pensions. I know, this side of the House has strongly advocated the necessity for retiring all officers, without any exception, at the age of 55; and even some, who happen to be non-Travancoreans, before 55. It is clear that this is not a normal position for a body, representing the people, who ought to aim at reducing public expenditure. I quite sympathise with those who pressed for such a policy which, I know, has been the result of discontent owing to the large number of non-Travancoreans or members of a particular caste or creed having got into the public service, and also owing to their experience that, when extensions were given, they were too often done as personal favours and not in the interests of the public or as a reward for real merit. So, if one would guarantee that extensions would be given only in cases where efficiency would not suffer, I, for one, would vote that in all such cases extensions should be given. It may be keeping out the next man from promotion. But public service is not for an officer; the officer is for public service. In fairness to the tax-payer, we are to look not to the gain of the individual officer but to the gain of the public exchequer.

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But there is one class of officers whose position is peculiar. I mean the Judges of the High Court. We know that, in England, the Judges of the High Court, when once appointed, cannot be sent away unless by a vote of Parliament. The idea must be that the Judges of the High Court should not in any way depend on the Government for any favour. In Madras, the Judges of the High Court continue till they are 60; evidently, on the assumption that, after 60, even if a man is able to do work, he would of his own accord lay down the burdens of public service. So, there also there is no fear of a Judge trying to be in the good books of Government for getting an extension of service. We know how, in our High Court, extensions have been given to some and not to others. Some have asked and some, who would have continued if they were asked by Government to do so, have not cared to ask. One should think that, in the interests of preserving the purity and independence of the highest judiciary of the State, it is necessary that the rule in the Madras High Court may be introduced in Travancore also. Apart from the above consideration, it is remarkable that now there are six or seven previous judges of the High Court receiving pension, while there are only four permanent and two temporary judges actually working. This is not a desirable state of affairs from a financial stand-point. Hence, it is high time that, at least with regard to High Court Judges, the question of raising the age for retirement be seriously considered by the Government.

I would now speak a few words on the chief Development Departments of the State. With regard to the Agricultural Department, I would point out the comparative futility of the demonstration farms of which the number should be minimised as far as possible. The experiments made in these farms, whose results are published, are seldom found to produce a convincing effect upon our farmers, even if a considerable number read such publications. On the other hand, what is more effective is to choose various localities for various experiments according to the crops in vogue in each locality, where people interested could easily see what is done and with what result. This will soon convince them of the effectiveness of new methods of sowing, planting, manuring and so on. I know that such experiments have been made in the past. I am only pleading that a larger proportion of the funds may be spent on such activities in future. I think also that the benefits of the Department can be increased by greater efforts at publicity through lectures and conferences in rural parts where the actual cultivators live. The lectures in the Assembly week at the capital, while they may be serving a useful purpose, will not meet all our requirements in that direction. This remark applies also to the Industries and Co-operative Departments. I mentioned conferences, because the officers of the Department should be prepared to exchange views with the experienced cultivators of the country whose knowledge, though not scientific, has been got by long practice. They should also be willing to learn form them and modify theories where necessary.

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Coming to the Industries Department, it is disappointing to see that, out of 80 applications for industrial loans, only 2 were granted, and that as many as 50 out of 90 private Industrial schools, were unaided. In the early stages of working this new scheme of grants-in-aid, it is important that the rules should be worked more elastically so that such schools may grow in numbers. The early history of aided schools for general education will show this. I do not mean, however, that public money should be thrown away on worthless schools.

Coming to the Co-operative Department, I find there are 720 societies for credit alone, and that there are only 19 for either credit and sale, or for distribution only. If co-operative societies continue long to be merely organisations for facilitating the habit of borrowing—or at best, for meeting the need for borrowing—they can hardly justify their existence. It is to be hoped that the Registrar will leave no stone unturned to see that the distributive or selling societies increase in numbers.

A word on the Economic Development Board is also necessary. From the name and the topics considered by the Board, it is evident that the organisation is one with large possibilities. The *Administration Report* does not furnish us with any statement showing a summary of the actual recommendations made by the Board during the year for the development of the country and how many of them were accepted by Government and acted upon. Evidently the usefulnes of such a Board can be gauged by the public only by such a statement.

With regard to the P. W. D., I would point out the need for more roads and bridges in Central and North Travancore. It is hardly two decades since the claims of these regions for such public works received any considerable attention from the Government. This long period of neglect necessitates that more attention should be given now to these parts than to those in the South which were receiving special consideration in former years. It is remarkable that, owing to the pressing demands for roads on the one hand and the delay in getting them supplied by Government on the other, people were led in those parts to cut roads themselves, giving land free of compensation, which roads were afterwards completed by the department and taken up for maintenance. This has never been done in the South. They are known as ryots' roads. I am sure that, if the rules regulating the opening of such roads be made more suited to the conditions of the country, and the officers of the department really encourage and help the people to construct such roads, it will be a means of opening up large tracts of the country and increasing the wealth of the people. This system enables Government to open roads at a much cheaper rate than if they did all the work themselves. So it is hoped that this will be well encouraged both by the Government and the Department.

Turning to the Medical and Sanitary Departments, I have to plead for increased grants to Ayurvedic branch. If Government find the system worthy to have so much money spent on it, I think that they

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should spend more on it; otherwise they should declare their want of faith in the utility of this system. Some scheme will have to be formulated whereby the western and eastern systems should be worked in co-ordination, without waste of public money.

Before passing on, I must say a few words on the imperative necessity for starting the work of the Vallamkulam bridge on the Manimala River. The late Dewan was thoroughly convinced of the real and pressing need for the bridge and sanctioned it in 1098. But afterwards an order was passed that it should lie over till the Railway route for North Travancore was fixed. I beg to submit, Sir, that the delay that has been and may still be caused by this postponement is intolerable to the people concerned. Nor do the public see the reasonableness of such a postponement. We are grateful for the provision made in the Budget for this work in 1101. But until the above order is reconsidered and cancelled, the provision will only lie unutilised next year. I would therefore request that Government may be pleased to reconsider the question, in consultation with the people concerned and the Chief Engineer and the Railway Engineer and cancel the order in question, so that the work may be commenced as early as possible next year, irrespective of the report of the Railway Survey Engineer.

May I know, Sir, for how many minutes more I can continue?

PRESIDENT: For two minutes.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*): I have got to say a few words on Education, which I propose to do at a later stage.

MR. N. V. JOSEPH (*Parur*): Sir, may I know how much time is allotted for non-officials to speak to-day?

PRESIDENT: I would like to know if the non-official members will permit the official members to speak for two hours altogether *i. e.*, from half past three. If that is done, I am sure we shall be the better for it.

MR. N. V. JOSEPH (*Parur*): Another point that I wish to bring to the notice of the Chair is the arrangement of seats. Those who are in front are in a position of vantage and are able to catch the eye of the President. But we on this side are not.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Narayana Pillai was late by two minutes on the last occasion. So, I have given him preference.

MR. KALLUR NARAYANA PILLAI (*Pattanamtitta*): സർ, ഫിനാൻഷ്യൽ സെക്രട്ടറി സമർപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ബഡ്ജറിൽ നിന്നും നമ്മുടെ കോശസ്ഥിതി ആശാസ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും, അടുത്തയാണ്ടിൽ സകല ചിലവുകളും കഴിച്ച് ന, ൻ, 0 0 0 രൂപാ മിച്ചമിരിപ്പുണ്ടാകുമെന്നും മനസ്സിലാകുന്നത് സന്തോഷാവഹവും, ആശ്വാസപ്രദവുംതന്നെ. എന്നാൽ പ്രസ്തുത ബഡ്ജറിൽ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ധനാഗമമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് അവധാനപൂർവ്വം ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ നമുക്കാശ്വമുണ്ടായ സന്തോഷം കുറേ അസ്ഥാനത്തിലായിപ്പോയെന്നു പറയാതിരിക്കാൻ നിവൃ

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[Mr. Kallur Narayana Pillai.]

ത്തികാണുന്നില്ല. അടുത്തവർഷത്തേക്കു കണക്കാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്ന മൊത്തമായ വരവ് ൨,൦൩,൭൫,൦൦൦ രൂപയാകുന്നു. അതിൽ ൭൭,൪൫,൦൦൦ രൂപാ അഥവാ ൪൨.൩% ശതമാനം സിദ്ധിക്കേണ്ടതു് എക്സൈസ് വകുപ്പിൽ നിന്നുമാണ്. എക്സൈസ് വിഭാഗത്തിൽ, കലാൽ, പുകം, ഉപ്പ് ഇങ്ങിനെ മൂന്ന് ഉപവിഭാഗങ്ങൾ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇവയിൽ കലാൽ ഇനത്തിൽ കള്ള്, ചാരായം, ശീമമദ്യം, അഫീൻ, ഗഞ്ചാ, പുകയില ഈ വിഷസാധനങ്ങളാണ് ഉൾപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതു്.

ജനങ്ങളുടെ സാന്മാർഗ്ഗികവും, സമാധാനപരവും, ഉൽക്കർഷേച്ഛാ യുക്തവുമായ ജീവിതത്തെ പാടേ ഹനിക്കുന്ന സാധനങ്ങളുടെ ഉപയോഗം പുരസ്കരിച്ച് ഒരു മുതലെടുപ്പു നയം സ്വീകരിക്കുന്ന ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനെ ഒരിക്കലും ഒരു പരിഷ്കൃത ഗവർണ്മെൻറായി സ്വീകരിക്കാവുന്നതല്ല. ഏകദേശം നാലായിരം കൊല്ലങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പ് ചൈനായിലെ ചക്രവർത്തി ലഹരിസാധനങ്ങളുടെ ഉപയോഗത്തെ തൻറെ സാമ്രാജ്യത്തിൽ നിരോധിച്ചു എന്നും, തന്നാമിത്തം മൂന്നു ദിവസത്തേക്കു ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ കനകവർഷമുണ്ടായി എന്നും പറയപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതു വിദൂരമായ ഒരു ഭൂതകാലഘട്ടത്തിൽ ഒരു വമ്പിച്ച ഭരണാധികാരിയാൽ തിരസ്കരിക്കപ്പെട്ട നിഷിദ്ധസാധനങ്ങളെ ഇന്നു നമ്മുടെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് നാട്ടിൽ വ്യാപരിപ്പിച്ച് മുതലെടുപ്പുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതു് ഏറ്റവും ഭയങ്കരവും അപലപനീയവുമായ ഒരു നയമാണ്. ഈ സാധനങ്ങളുടെ ഉപയോഗം നിശ്ശേഷം കാലക്രമേണ നിരോധിച്ചുകൊള്ളാമെന്നുള്ള ഗവർണ്മെൻറിൻെറ നയം ഒട്ടും ആശാസ്യമല്ല. ഉമ്മാർഗ്ഗത്തേയും സന്മാർഗ്ഗത്തേയും ഇണക്കിവച്ചുകൊണ്ടുള്ള പ്രയാണം മനുഷ്യസ്വഭാവത്തിനു യോജിച്ചതുമല്ല. ഗവർണ്മെൻറിൻെറ പ്രഖ്യാപനവിശ്വാസത്തിൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു മതിപ്പുണ്ടാകണമെങ്കിൽ ഉടൻതന്നെ ഈ നിഷിദ്ധസാധനങ്ങളുടെ ഉപയോഗം നിരോധിക്കപ്പെടണം.

കലാൽ വകുപ്പിൽ നിന്നുമുള്ള ആദായമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളെ ക്രമേണ വർദ്ധിക്കൊണ്ടുവരികയെന്നുള്ളതാണ് ഗവർണ്മെൻറിൻെറ നയം, എന്നറിഞ്ഞിരുന്നിട്ടും, എക്സൈസ് കമ്മിഷണർ എക്സൈസിലെ മുതലെടുപ്പു ക്രൂരതലായി കാണിക്കുവാൻ ഭഗീരഥപ്രയത്നം ചെയ്യുകാണുന്നതു് ആക്ഷേപാർഹമാകുന്നു. ഫാർവ്വൽ ഫണ്ടിൽ കള്ളുഷാപ്പുകൾ ലേലംചെയ്യു എന്നും, ലേലംചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കാതെ കിടന്നുപോയ

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ഉഷാപ്പുകളുംകൂടി ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തി ഫാൻ-ൽ ഫണ്ടിന്റെ കള്ളുഷാപ്പുകൾ ലേലം ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ട എന്നും ഈ ഇനത്തിൽ തന്നാണ്ടിൽ ഫ്രഞ്ച് ഗവർമെന്റ് കൂടുതൽ മുതലെടുപ്പുണ്ടെന്നും എക്സൈസ് കമ്മിഷണർ ഭരണറിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പ്രസ്താപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു് ഗവർമെൻറിനും ജനങ്ങൾക്കും ഒട്ടും അഭിമാനകരമായിരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ജനങ്ങളുടേയും ഗവർമെൻറിന്റേയും, ഹിതത്തിനും, ആശകൾക്കും, പ്രതികൂലമായി എക്സൈസ് മുതലെടുപ്പു വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ഹീനമായ സമ്പ്രദായം കമ്മിഷണർ ഇനിയും തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടു പോകുന്നപക്ഷം അതു് തിരുവിതാംകൂർ പൌരാവലി സഹിക്കയില്ലെന്നും, ഈ നിന്ദ്യമായ സമ്പ്രദായത്തെ നാട്ടിൽ നിന്നും പായിക്കുവാൻ അവർ മനഃപൂർവ്വം യത്നിക്കുന്നതാണെന്നുംകൂടി പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടേ.

നമ്മുടെ മുതലെടുപ്പിൽ ഈ ഇനത്തിനു് ഭാവിയിൽ ഒരു സ്ഥാനവും ഇല്ല. ആയതുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ ഇനത്തിലുള്ള മുതലെടുപ്പിനെ ആശ്രയിച്ചുള്ള വരവിൽനിന്നും, കുറച്ചുകളഞ്ഞതിനുമേൽവേണം നമ്മുടെ കോശസ്ഥിതിയെപ്പറ്റി ആഹ്ലാദിപ്പാൻ.

തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ചുങ്കനികുതിയേയും, തൽസംബന്ധമായ താരിപ്പു വ്യവസ്ഥയേയും പറ്റി ഇനിയും പര്യാലോചിക്കാം. ഇവയും ഏറ്റവും ആക്ഷേപാർഹങ്ങളാണു്.

കയറുമതി, ഇറക്കുമതി എന്നീ തീരുവ ഇനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും ഫാൻ-ൽ വർദ്ധനവു ലഭിച്ചുവന്നതായി കാണുന്നു. ഇതിൽ ഭൂരിഭാഗവും കയറുമതിത്തീരുവയാണു്. കയറുമതിയിൽനിന്നു ഏകദേശം ൯൦ ശതമാനം തെങ്ങിൽ നിന്നും ഉളവാകുന്ന ചരക്കുകളുടെ തീരുവയിൽ നിന്നും ലഭിക്കുന്നതാണെന്നു കാണുന്നു. ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റിയും എനിക്കു് ആക്ഷേപങ്ങൾ പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കാനുണ്ടു്.

കയറുമതിത്തീരുവയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനംതന്നെ അന്യവകതീരുവവിദേശിയരായ കച്ചവടക്കാർ കൊടുത്തുകൊള്ളുമെന്നുള്ള വിശ്വാസത്തിന്മേൽ നിലകൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇപ്രകാരം വിദേശിയർ സാധനങ്ങളുടെ വിലയ്ക്കുപുറമെ ചുങ്കംകൂടി കൊടുക്കണമെങ്കിൽ ആ കച്ചവടക്കാരുടെ വ്യാപാരാതിത്തിയിൽ, പ്രസ്തുത സാധനങ്ങൾ അപരിത്യാജ്യമാംവണ്ണം സ്ഥായിയായ, ഉപയോഗത്തിലിരിക്കണം. അതായതു് അവക്കു് ആ വക സാധനങ്ങൾക്കു ഒഴിച്ചുകൂടാത്ത ആവശ്യം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. ഇതിനും പുറമേ ആ വക സാധനങ്ങളുടെ പൂർണ്ണമായ കൈവശാധികാരവും, നികുതി ചുമത്തുന്ന രാജ്യക്കാർക്കായിരിക്കണം. ഈ രണ്ടു വ്യവസ്ഥകളേയും

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പാലിക്കാമെങ്കിൽ മാത്രമെ കയറുമതിത്തീരുവ വിദേശിയർ കൊടുക്കുകയൊള്ളൂ.

ഈ കാലത്തു് ഈ രണ്ടു പ്രത്യേക വ്യവസ്ഥകളും, ഒരു പ്രത്യേക രാജ്യക്കാക്കു് സ്വായത്തമല്ലാത്തതിനാൽ കയറുമതിത്തീരുവ ഈ സാധനങ്ങളുടെ ഉല്പാദകൻതന്നെ കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നു. ഈ സംഗതിയെ അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തി നോക്കുമ്പോൾ നമ്മുടെ കയറുമതിത്തീരുവ ഏപ്പാട്ടു്, ഈ നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ പരിശ്രമത്തിനു് ഒരു പിഴയായി പരിണമിച്ചുകാണുന്നു.

കയറുമതിത്തീരുവയെ ഇനി വേറൊരു പ്രകാരത്തിൽക്കൂടി നീതീകരിക്കാം. അതായതു്, അന്യനാട്ടുകാരുടെ മത്സരം നിമിത്തം ഈ സാധനങ്ങളുടെ ഉപയോഗം തന്നാട്ടുകാക്കു് നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടുപോകാതിരിക്കാൻ വേണ്ടി പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുന്ന ഒരു നിരോധനാജ്ഞയായും വരാം.

ഈ രണ്ടു തത്വങ്ങളേയും അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തി നോക്കുന്നപക്ഷവും, തെങ്ങിൽനിന്നും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്ന ചരക്കുകളിൽ സ്ഥാപിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന കയറുമതിത്തീരുവ ഒരു വിധത്തിലും നീതീകരിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നതല്ല. തെങ്ങു് തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ കല്പവൃക്ഷമാണു്. ഈ നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ജീവിത സന്ധാരണം പ്രധാനമായി നാളികേരഫലപുഷ്ടിയെ ആശ്രയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. അവരുടെ സകലാവശ്യങ്ങളും നടത്തുന്നതു തെങ്ങിൽനിന്നും ലഭിക്കുന്ന സാധനങ്ങളെ അന്യദിക്കുകളിൽ അയച്ചു വിറ്റിട്ടാണു്. എത്ര സമൃദ്ധിയായി നാളികേരമുണ്ടായാലും അതു വിദേശിയ വാണിജ്യശാലകളിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഭ്രതംകാക്കുന്ന നിധിപോലെ ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാക്കു് അതുകൊണ്ടു് യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവുംഇല്ല. ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാക്കു് അവരുടെ ചരക്കു് വില്ക്കാതിരിപ്പാൻ നിവാഹമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടും, ഈ സാധനം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ എന്നപോലെ മറു രാജ്യങ്ങളിലും സമൃദ്ധിയായി ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതുകൊണ്ടും, അന്യരാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇതിന്റെ ഉപയോഗം ഒഴിച്ചുകൂടാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തവണ്ണം അവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ജീവിതാവശ്യങ്ങളിൽ സ്ഥാനം പിടിയ്ക്കാത്തതുകൊണ്ടും ഈ ഇനത്തിലുള്ള ചുങ്കം ജനങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒർഭരമായിത്തീന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ നാളികേരത്തിനു വിലക്കുറവു നേരിട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതിനും ഈ വ്യവസ്ഥകൾ കാരണമായിത്തീരുന്നു.

ഇനി, സ്വരാജ്യത്തിലെ വ്യവസായ പോഷണാർത്ഥമാണോ ജനങ്ങൾ ഈ നികുതിചുമക്കുന്നതു് എന്നു നോക്കുന്നപക്ഷം അവി

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ടയും വ്യസനകരമായ ഒരു കാഴ്ചയാണു കാണുന്നതു്. ഒരു കണ്ടി കയർ ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ ൨൫൦൦ മടൽ വേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. മടൽ കയറാ ക്കുന്നതിന് വേണ്ടിവരുന്ന ശ്രമത്തിന്റെ ഓരോ ഘട്ടവും, ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഓരോവ്യവസായത്തിന് മാർഗ്ഗം നൽകുന്നു. തന്നിമിത്തം ഓരോ വക വിവി ധശ്രമങ്ങളിൽ പെടുന്ന ജനങ്ങൾക്കു അവയിൽ ഓരോന്നും ഉപജീവന മാർഗ്ഗമായിത്തീരുന്നുണ്ടു്. അതിനാൽ ജനക്ഷേമകാംക്ഷയുള്ള ഒരു ഗ വർണ്മെൻറ് അസംസ്കൃതസാധനമായ മടലിന് കൂടിയതീരുവയും, അതു സംസ്കരിക്കും തോറും കുറഞ്ഞ തീരുവയും ചുമത്തേണ്ടതാണു്. എന്നാൽ നാം ഇവിടെ കാണുന്നതു് നേരെ വിപരീതമായ ഒരു നയമാണു്. ഒരു കണ്ടികയറിനു ആവശ്യമുള്ള ൨൫൦൦ മടലിന് ഒന്നര രൂപാമാത്രം തീരുവയായിരിക്കെ, ആ മടലുകൊണ്ടുണ്ടാക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു കണ്ടി കയറി ന് ആദ്യത്തെതിന്റെ മൂന്നു മടങ്ങായ നാലര രൂപാ തീരുവയുണ്ടു്. ഓരോ താരിപ്പു വ്യവസ്ഥയുടെ ഫലമായി അസംസ്കൃതപദാർത്ഥമായ മടൽ ഇവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു് ജീവനസന്ധാരണ സാമഗ്രിയായി ഉപകരിയ്ക്കാ തെ വിദേശങ്ങളിലേയ്ക്കു് യഥേഷ്ടം കയറുമതി ചെയ്യപ്പെടുന്നു.

ആകെ കൂടി പറയുന്നപക്ഷം ഇന്നു ലോകത്തു് അപൂർവ്വം ചിലരാ ജ്യങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രം കയറുമതിയെ തടയുന്നതിനായിവച്ചിട്ടുള്ള കയറു മതിത്തീരുവ നമ്മുടെ ജീവിതത്തിന് നിദാനവും ഏകവലംബവുമായ നാളികേര വൃക്ഷത്തിന്മേൽ ദുർഭരമായി സ്ഥാപിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഓരോ വിഷയത്തിലും ജുഗുപ്സാവഹമായിട്ടുള്ളതു് ഓരോ തീരുവ ഏർപ്പാടിൽ ജ നക്ഷേമത്തെ അശേഷം കണക്കാക്കിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ളതാണു്. ഓരോ നില യിൽ കയറുമതിത്തീരുവ തുടർന്നു കൊള്ളാമെന്നു ഗവർണ്മെൻറു കരു തേണ്ട. ഓരോ വരവു ദുർബ്ബലപ്പെട്ടു തന്നെ പോകും.

ഇനിപ്പറയാനുള്ളതു് ഇറക്കുമതിത്തീരുവയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചാണു്. എല്ലാരാജ്യങ്ങളിലും അനുവർത്തിച്ചു വരുന്നതും ദേശീയവ്യവസായാഭിവൃദ്ധി ക്കു ഉതകുന്നതും ആയ ഇറക്കുമതിത്തീരുവയിലുള്ള മുതലെടുപ്പു് തിരുവി താംകൂറിൽ തുലോം തുച്ഛമാണു്. ഓരോ ഇനത്തിലുള്ള വരവു്, ൟ൦൯൯ -ൽ ൟ൯൭൬൯൨ൟ രൂപയാണെന്നു കാണുന്നു. വിദേശീയ ഭരണാ ധികാരികളാൽ നയിക്കപ്പെട്ടു പോരുന്ന ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ പോലും കയറുമതി ഇനത്തിൽ ൟ൯൨ൟ-൨൨-ൽ നാലുകോടി അൻപതുല ക്ഷം രൂപ മുതൽ വന്നിരിക്കെ, ഇറക്കുമതിത്തീരുവയിൽ ഇരുപത്തിഏഴു കോടി എഴുപതുലക്ഷം രൂപാ മുതൽ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലാ കട്ടെ, ഇറക്കുമതിത്തീരുവ, കയറുമതിത്തീരുവയുടെ ൟൟ-ൽ ഒരംശംമാ ത്രമേ ആകുന്നുള്ളു. ഓരോ ഇറക്കുമതിത്തീരുവതന്നെയും, നിരോധിക്കപ്പെ

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[Mr. Kallur Narayana Pillai.]

ടേണ്ട സാധനങ്ങളായ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് മദ്യം, പൊടി, ഇംഗ്ലീഷു പുകയില, ചുരുട്ട്, സിഗററ്റ്, ബീടി, മുതലായ സാധനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്.

നമ്മുടെ താരിപ്പു നിയമം ൧൯൨൫-ാമാണ്ടു ബ്രിട്ടീഷു ഗവർമ്മെൻറും കൊച്ചീ സക്കാരുമായുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള Interportal Convention എന്ന കരാറിലാണു് സ്ഥിതിചെയ്യുന്നതു. ഒരു കരാറിനെപ്പററി ഒരു സഭയ്ക്കു വാദിക്കാൻ അവകാശവുമില്ല. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിലും കൊച്ചീ സക്കാരിലും ക്രടിയോ, നിന്നോ, ഇറക്കുമതി ചെയ്യപ്പെടുന്ന സാധനങ്ങൾക്കു് നമുക്കു തീരുവ വസൂൽ ചെയ്യാൻ അധികാരവുമില്ല. ഒരു കരാറനുസരിച്ചു് ൧൯൨൫-ാമാണ്ടത്തേക്കു് നമുക്കു വരേണ്ടതായിരുന്ന തുക ൧൧,൪൩,൫൫൫ രൂപയാണു്.

ഇനിയും ഉപ്പിനത്തിലുള്ള തീരുവയെപ്പററിപറയുന്നതോ ചിക്കാം. ഒരു തീരുവയും നമുക്കു് സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമായി നിയോഗിക്കത്തക്കതല്ലാ. അതും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഗവർമ്മെൻറുമായുള്ള കരാറിലാണു് സ്ഥിതിചെയ്യുന്നതു്. സ്വയം ഭരണവാദം വർദ്ധിച്ചു വരുന്ന ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിലെ നിലയ്ക്കു്, താമസംവിനാ ഉപ്പു നികുതി നിർമ്മൂലനം നിന്നുപോകുകയൊ, നാമമാത്രമായി തീരുകയൊ ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഇടയുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു ഇനത്തിലുള്ള മുതലെടുപ്പിനേയും സ്ഥായിയായി ഗണിക്കാൻ തരമില്ല.

നമ്മുടെ കോശസ്ഥിതിയെ, സന്മാർഗ്ഗപരമായ മുതലെടുപ്പിനെ മാത്രം ആശ്രയിച്ചു കണക്കാക്കുന്നപക്ഷം, തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ അടുത്ത കാലത്തെ മുതലെടുപ്പു ഒന്നരക്കോടി രൂപായിൽ കവിയുകയില്ലെന്നു കാണാം.

ഒരു സ്ഥിതിക്കു രാജ്യത്തെ ധനാഗമമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ മറെറ പ്രകാരേണ തരക്കേണ്ടതായിരിക്കുന്നു. ഭൂനികുതി ഇപ്പോൾ തന്നെ വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു കൊണ്ടു് ഇനിയും ആ ഇനത്തിൽ ഒന്നും ഒരുടാകാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാ. എന്നാൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഫാറസ്ററ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിൽ നിന്നും ഗണ്യമായ ആദായം സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നില്ലെന്നുള്ള വസ്തുത എല്ലാവർക്കും അറിയാവുന്നതാകയാൽ ആ വഴിയ്ക്കു് ഗവർമ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും നിഷ്കർഷയായ പരിശ്രമങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഇനിയും അമാന്തിച്ചു കൂടാ. വനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും വമ്പിച്ച ആദായം ഉണ്ടാക്കാമെന്നുള്ള ആശ അസ്ഥാനത്താണെന്നും വനത്തിലെ പ്രധാന ആദായമാർഗ്ഗം തടിവെട്ടാണെങ്കിലും തടി അധികമായി മുറിച്ചാൽ വനങ്ങൾക്കു നാശകരമായി തീരുമെന്നും, വ

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നപരിപാലന തത്വങ്ങൾ അനുസരിച്ച് അധികം തടികൾ വെട്ടാതിരിക്കേണ്ടതു് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെൻറിന്റെ ചുമതലയാണെന്നും മറും ഫ ഠ ൻ-ലെ ബഡ്ജറു പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ കൺസർവേറർ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു കാണുന്നു. എന്നാൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിന്റെ വിസ്തീർണ്ണതയിൽ ഫ/നു ഭാഗംഅടങ്ങിയവനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും കിട്ടിവരുന്ന ആദായം എത്രയും തുച്ഛമായിരിക്കുന്നതിനു് കൺസർവേറരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം മതിയായ സമാധാനമായിരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഫ ഠ ൻ-ലെ ഭരണറിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ നിന്നും വനം വക മുതലെടുപ്പു് ഫ ഉ, ഒ വ, ന് ർ ർ രൂപയാണെന്നും, കൺസർവെൻസി, ശമ്പളച്ചിലവു് മുതലായ വകയിലുള്ള ചിലവു് ഒ, ഠ വ, ഠ നു രൂപയാണെന്നും മനസ്സിലാക്കാം. ഠരം ചിലവു വരവിന്റെ ൪ ൪. ശതമാനമാകുന്നു. ആകെക്കൂടിവനം വകുപ്പിൽ നിന്നും ൻ-ൽകിട്ടിയമിച്ചം അഞ്ചുലക്ഷത്തി എഴുപതിനായിരത്തിൽ ചിലപ്രാനംരൂപ മാത്രമാണു്. വനപരിപാലനം അത്യാവശ്യമാണെങ്കിലും വനത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഗണ്യമായ ആദായം ഉണ്ടാകേണ്ടതിനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെൻറിൽ നിന്നും കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു് പ്രവർത്തിക്കേണ്ടതിനുള്ള കാലം അതിക്രമിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു.

ഇനി, ഠരം രാജ്യത്തെ പൊതുമുതൽ വിനിയോഗിക്കുന്ന രീതിയെ പരിശോധിക്കട്ടെ. പൊതുമുതൽ വ്യയം ചെയ്യുന്നതിൽ നാലു പ്രധാനതത്വങ്ങൾ ഓർമ്മിക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അവ, പ്രയോജനം, മിതത്വം, അനുവാദം, മിച്ചം, എന്നിവയാകുന്നു. ഠരം തത്വങ്ങളിൽ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കുന്ന സാരം പൊതുമുതലിന്റെ വ്യയം കൊണ്ടു് ഏറ്റവും കൂടുതലായ സാമൂഹ്യാനുഭവം ഉണ്ടാകണമെന്നാണു്. ഇതിനെ അടിസ്ഥാനപ്പെടുത്തി ഇവിടത്തെ വ്യയസ്ഥിതിയെ നിരൂപിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഏറ്റവും പരിതാപകരവും, അനുകമ്പാശൂന്യവും ആയ നടപടിയാണു് കാണപ്പെടുന്നതു്. പബ്ലിക്കുസർവീസിലെ അംഗങ്ങളുടെ ശമ്പളം വകയ്ക്കും, സഞ്ചാരപ്പടി വകയ്ക്കും, ആഫീസ്സു ചിലവുകൾക്കുമായി ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ പൊതുമുതലെടുപ്പിന്റെ ൪ ഠ ശതമാനത്തോളം ചിലവാക്കി വരുന്നു. ലോകത്തിൽ ഏറ്റവും വലിയശമ്പളക്കൂടുതലുള്ള ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ ആകെയുള്ള വരവിന്റെ ഫ.നു. ർ.ം-തെക്കേ ആഫ്റിക്കയിൽ ഫ വ. ഒ-ം ഇംഗ്ലണ്ടിൽ ന്യ.ന്യ-ം പ്രാൻസിൽ ന്യ.ന്യ-ം ഇറാലിയിൽ ഫ ന്യ.ൻ-ം ജപ്പാനിൽ നു ന്യ. ഒ-ം ശതമാനം മാത്രം സിവിൽ ഭരണത്തിനായി ചിലവു ചെയ്യുവരവേ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ൪ ഠ ശതമാനം ഠരം വകക്കു് ധൂർത്തായിക്കളയുന്നതു് നിരുത്തരവാദത്തിന്റെ പരമകാഷ്ഠതന്നെയാണു്. നീതീകരിക്കാവുന്നനിലയിൽ ഒന്നരകോടി രൂപായുടെ വരവിനു മാത്രംശക്തിയുള്ള തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഒരു കോടി രൂപായോളം ഭരണച്ചിലവിലേക്കായി മാത്രംനീക്കി

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[Mr. Kallur Narayana Pillai.]

വയ്ക്കുന്നതായാൽ ജനക്ഷേമകരങ്ങളായ പദ്ധതികളിലേക്കു ചിലവിടാനുള്ള പണം എവിടെ? ഇവിടെ അഞ്ഞൂറും, അറുന്നൂറും, എഴുന്നൂറും തുടങ്ങി രണ്ടായിരത്തിനുമേൽ ശമ്പളം വാങ്ങിക്കുന്ന എത്ര ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ഉണ്ടു? തിരുനൽവേലി ജില്ലയോളം പോലും വലിപ്പമില്ലാത്ത ഈ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഇത്രയധികം കൊഴുത്ത മാസപ്പടി വാങ്ങുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ആവശ്യമെന്തു? തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഇന്നു എത്രയെത്ര ജനങ്ങളാണു വീടില്ലാതെ വഴിയമ്പലങ്ങളെ ശരണംപ്രാപിച്ചു നിവാസയോഗ്യമല്ലാത്ത കുടിലുകളിൽ താമസിച്ചു ജീവിതക്ലേശം അനുഭവിക്കുന്നതു? തൊഴിലില്ലാത്ത ഉന്നത ബിരുദധാരികളും കീഴ്ജീവന പരീക്ഷാവിജയികളും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ ശ്രമത്തിൽ അപജയം പറ്റി കിടക്കുന്നവരും നിരക്ഷരകുക്ഷികളും ആയ എത്ര ജനങ്ങൾ സങ്കടം അനുഭവിക്കുന്നു? ഒരു നേരത്തേ ആഹാരത്തിനുപോലും മാർഗ്ഗമില്ലാതെയും അർദ്ധനഗ്നരായും എത്ര ജനങ്ങൾ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നു? പ്രകൃതി വൈപരീത്യംകൊണ്ടുള്ള കൃഷിപ്പിഴയാലും ഭൂമിയിലെ പോഷകദ്രവ്യങ്ങളുടെ നാശംമൂലവും പകച്ചുവ്യാധികളുടെ ആക്രമണങ്ങളെ തടുക്കാനുള്ള അശക്തിയാലും എത്ര ജനങ്ങൾ ജീവിതം ദുർഭരമായി കരുതുന്നു? വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽ എത്രയെത്ര യുവാക്കൾ ഉച്ചപ്പട്ടിണി കിടക്കുന്നു? രാജ്യത്തിലെ പ്രജകൾ അസഹനീയമായ ഈ സങ്കടങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിക്കുന്നതു പരിഷ്കൃതരീതിയിലുള്ള വാഹനങ്ങളിൽ സഞ്ചരിച്ചു സഞ്ചാരപ്പടിയും ശമ്പളവും വാങ്ങി സുഖമനുഭവിക്കുന്ന നമ്മുടെ വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ അറിയുന്നുണ്ടോ? എഴുപത്തിഏട്ടു ലക്ഷം രൂപായോളം ഒന്നോടെ ഗ്രസിക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥവൃന്ദത്തിൽ ആരെങ്കിലും ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിലുള്ള ഊടുവഴികളിലും കല്ലിലും മുള്ളിലും തോട്ടിലും സഞ്ചരിച്ചു പീഡിതരായ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അത്യാവശ്യങ്ങളെ അന്വേഷിച്ചറിഞ്ഞു ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുണ്ടോ? ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ അനന്യസാധാരണമായ രീതിയിൽ വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളുടെ എണ്ണം ഗവർണ്മെൻറു തുടരത്തുടരെ കൂട്ടുകയല്ലേ ചെയ്യുന്നതു? ഈയവസരത്തിൽതന്നെ എത്ര വലിയ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ സൃഷ്ടിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു? പെൻഷൻ പറ്റാൻ കാലുവെയ്ക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കും സ്വാധീനശക്തിയുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഒരു സ്പെഷ്യൽ ആഫീസർസ്ഥാനം ലഭ്യമാവുന്നില്ലേ? ഓരോ ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗം സൃഷ്ടിക്കുംതോറും പ്രജകളിൽ അഞ്ഞൂറു പേർ പട്ടിണി കിടക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നു.

എന്നാൽ ഈ വമ്പിച്ച ശമ്പളം വാങ്ങിക്കുന്നവർ തങ്ങളുടെ കീഴിലുള്ള ചെറുതരം ജീവനക്കാരുടെ കായ്ത്തിൽ യാതൊരനുകമ്പയും പ്ര

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ദർശിപ്പിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു പരിഷ്കാരം എന്നു പറയുന്നതു ഉയർന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളം കൂട്ടുന്നതിലായിട്ടാണ് പലപ്പോഴും കലാശിക്കാറുള്ളതു്. ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ മലയാളംസ്കൂൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ സംഗതിയാണ് എന്റെ സ്മരണയിൽ വരുന്നതു്. ഇവരെപ്പറ്റി അനേകം സാമാജികന്മാർ ഇവിടെയും പ്രജാസഭയിലും ശക്തിയായി വാദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ വിസ്താരമായി യാതൊന്നും പറയുന്നില്ല. ഫർ ത്രുപാ ശമ്പളംകൊണ്ടു ഇക്കാലത്തു ഒരദ്ധ്യാപകനും കുടുംബത്തിനും ജീവിക്കാൻ നിവ്വാഹമില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ മലയാളംസ്കൂൾ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. വർദ്ധിച്ച ശമ്പളംകൊടുക്കുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളുടെ എണ്ണം കുറച്ചോ ശമ്പളത്തുകയിൽതന്നെ കുറവു വരുത്തിയൊ പണം മിച്ചമുണ്ടാക്കീട്ടെങ്കിലും അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാർക്കു ശമ്പളക്കൂടുതൽ നൽകേണ്ടതാണ്.

ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ഉദ്യോഗവിതരണ നയത്തെപ്പറ്റിയും രണ്ടു വാക്കു പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഉദ്യോഗവാഭവിഷയത്തിൽ അസമത്വം അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന പല സമുദായങ്ങളും ഇന്നു തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലുണ്ടു്. ഒരു കാലത്തു നായന്മാർക്കു തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ പ്രാബല്യമുണ്ടായിരുന്നെങ്കിലും ഇന്നത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗനില നോക്കിയാൽ അവരുടെ സ്ഥിതി എത്രയും പരിതാപകരമാണ്. ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു മേലദ്ധ്യക്ഷന്മാരുടെ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ഒരേ ഒരു നായരെ മാത്രമെ കാണ്മാനൊള്ളു. ജനസംഖ്യയിലും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലും രാജ്യസ്നേഹത്തിലും അദ്വിതീയന്മാരായ നായന്മാരുടെ ഇടയിൽനിന്നും ഒരു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു മേലധ്യക്ഷൻ മാത്രമേ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നൊള്ളു എന്നു പറവാൻ എനിക്കു ലജ്ജയുണ്ടെങ്കിലും പരമാർത്ഥം അതുതന്നെയാണെല്ലൊ. നായർ സമുദായത്തോടു കൂടുതൽ പക്ഷപാതിത്വം കാണിക്കണമെന്നില്ല. ആ സമുദായത്തിന്റെ ന്യായമായ അവകാശങ്ങളെ അവഗണിക്കാതിരുന്നാൽ മതി. നായന്മാരെപോലെ ഉദ്യോഗലാഭത്തിൽ വിഷമിക്കുന്ന മറെറാരു സമുദായം ഈഴവരാണ്. വ്യവസായ പരിശ്രമങ്ങളിലും കാർഷികവൃത്തിയിലും ഒന്നുപോലെ നിരന്തരമായി ഏർപ്പെട്ടു രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ സാമ്പത്തികശ്രീവളർത്തുന്ന ഈ സമുദായത്തിനു ജനസംഖ്യകൊണ്ടും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസംകൊണ്ടും അർഹിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളം പ്രോത്സാഹനം ഗവർമ്മെൻറു നൽകുന്നില്ല. സഞ്ചാരസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം തുടങ്ങിയ പ്രാഥമിക പൌരാവകാശങ്ങൾക്കുപോലും ഈ സമുദായത്തിനു അവകാശവാദം ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായി വരുന്നു.

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[Mr. Kallur Narayana Pillai.]

പൊതുസമ്മതം സംപൂർണ്ണമാക്കാൻ മഹാറാണി റീജൻറു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറു ശ്രമിച്ചുവരുന്ന ഇക്കാലത്തെങ്കിലും ഈഴവരുടെ എല്ലാവക അസമത്വങ്ങളും നീങ്ങിപ്പോകുമെന്നു ആശിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.

ഇന്നത്തെ പബ്ലിക്കു സർവീസ്സിൻെറ ഘടനയെ ആമൂലാഗ്രം പരിഷ്കരിച്ചു് ഓരോ സമുദായത്തിനും അതാതിൻെറ പൂർവ്വപ്രശസ്തിക്കും മഹത്വത്തിനും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസനിലക്കും അനുരൂപമായ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകിയും നാട്ടിൽ സംതൃപ്തി വളർക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണവും നമ്മുടെ കോശഭരണപദ്ധതിയെ ശ്രുചിയാക്കുകയും ചെയ്യണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനെ ഉൽബോധിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. C. KERALA VARMA KOILTAMPURAN (*Edavakai*): Sir, the Budget for the year 1101 presented on Wednesday last, was, in my opinion, a success. The fact that the Financial Secretary has been able to give us again and again a surplus budget, shows that we are marching towards financial stability. It is satisfactory to note that Government have, after all, begun to tackle the difficult problem of finance with care, wisdom, foresight, and, above all, with a desire to seek the co-operation of the chosen representatives of the people.

To ignore the bright side of things, to magnify and elaborate the dark side, are perhaps the duty of an expert which I am not. I am only a layman who finds finance a nut too hard to crack. I do not presume to intrude upon the province of experts but will simply confine myself to a few observations on some of the general features of the budget and of the administration.

I am glad to see that the scheme for a State-aided Bank has received the sanction of Government. It will, no doubt, prove a boon to the people of Travancore and they will be grateful to Government for it. I am sure the country will readily respond to the appeal made by the Financial Secretary for co-operation in order that the scheme might be a complete success.

I was of opinion that a similar experiment might with great advantage be tried in the case of factory industries also and had hoped to move Government in that direction. But I am disappointed to know from the Financial Secretary's speech that Government are altogether against the development of factory industries. I doubt much whether agriculture and cottage industries alone, however much developed, will be sufficient to meet all the ever-increasing requirements of the country. The country is being daily flooded with half educated and discontented young men with empty hands and empty purse, who have all sorts of vague glimpses of what is going on in other parts of the world. How can we accommodate them all with proper work if we do not exert our energies in all possible directions? To me this seems to be a narrow policy. If we do not look sufficiently ahead now, I fear we shall

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soon be overtaken by the unemployment problem with all its ugly consequences. Of course, the Government would have some weighty reasons for coming to this conclusion. I should like to know what they are.

Now, one of the outstanding features of the budget is 'the staggering growth,' as the Financial Secretary puts it, of the expenditure on education. Education is indeed a sacred thing, Sir, and no one who has the country's good at heart would grudge the money spent on it. Nevertheless, a sudden leap from Rs. 7 and odd lakhs to Rs. 38 and odd lakhs in the short space of sixteen years is something abnormal and alarming and denotes the want of a sense of proportion in the minds of the authorities concerned. This disproportionate spending on one department, however important it may be, cannot but be detrimental to the interests of others and the sooner the Government realise it, the better. The weight of this heavy sum annually spent on education, nearly one-seventh of the entire revenue of the State, becomes all the heavier on our shoulders when we remember that the present system of education is not all that it should be. It is a facsimile of that prevailing in British India and I do not know how far it has been successful there. But I am certain that, so far as our country is concerned, it is not. A system which is entirely foreign to our taste, temperament and habits, has been thrust upon us; and no wonder, then, it does not fall in with all our requirements. Our goal, social, political, and moral lies one way and our present system of education carries us headlong another way. It may be impossible, at present, as we are tied to the tail of the Madras University, to mend matters; but I hope, ere long, that the muchlonged-for, much-talked-of scheme of the Travancore University will be an accomplished fact and then we shall be free to think and act for ourselves in this all-vital matter.

I should like to bring to your notice, Sir, one point which, to my mind, seems very important. Unfortunately, in Travancore there is a strong impression among the people, high and low alike, that the aim and object of education is the attainment of some post in Government service. Ninety per cent of the parents who send their children to school have only this one object in view. They see in their young ones the embryos of some great officials who, they daily see, rush along in motor cars in full-blown dignity. Similarly, ninety per cent of the school-going population are prompted with a desire to secure, some way or other, a pass in the examinations and afterwards a footing in the Government service; they do not seem to think that the object of education is something far higher and nobler.

What a great harm this mad rush after Government service is doing the country, it is not easy to estimate. Keen eyes have long perceived it, wise heads have long pondered over it, eloquent tongues have pleaded against it and able pens have ruthlessly attacked it; yet, the phantom is there stronger than ever, hovering round the heads of our young men and leading most of them to disappointment and destruction. I do not know how we are going to get rid of it; one thing

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however, is certain. Unless and until we do it, all our educationa activities will be to small purpose and most of the money spent on i will be a mere wastage.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum cum Nedumangad*): May I know from the member whether he supports the special school at Mavelikara?

MR. C. KERALA VARMA KOILTAMPURAN (*Edavagai*): Heedless of all things that take place around, the Education Department is working on in full speed and flooding the country with all sorts of commodities. The annual output far exceeds the demand. There was a time when the products of this factory had a splendid demand. Then their value was almost phenomenal; now it has come down to the level of a German mark towards the close of the great war. Sir, there is only one factory in our country which does not take into account the principles of demand and supply and it is this Education Department.

Coming to another point, we find an erroneous belief among many of our students, both English and Vernacular, that manual labour is incompatible with education. Such a notion is pernicious to the highest degree, especially among our vernacular students, who come mostly from the ranks of our workmen. If this is not checked in time, it will adversely affect our agriculture and all other kindred industries. In short, if the present policy is not discontinued, I fear we are not far from a crisis.

Another point I wish to bring to your notice is that moral and religious education is at present neglected in our schools. The physic side, though not so much neglected as the other, is still in the background and has much to be improved. I hope the authorities will not be slow recognising this.

The introduction of religious education in our public schools is a more difficult theme, as much controversy hangs round it. There are many among us who hold that difficulties exist in the way of introducing religion into schools and believe that it might safely be left in the hands of parents at home. Difficulties there are, I admit. But, they are only of such a nature that if we are earnest over it we can surely overcome them. I would in all earnestness ask if the teachings of religion are so trivial or pernicious as to be entirely neglected, as done to-day. Our forefathers placed religion in the forefront of their education; now we in our supreme wisdom, derived from a materialistic west, regard it as unworthy of even entering our schools. What a fall, my countrymen? I am much grieved to see that the tendency of the times is to drive out the God in man to give place to the animal in him. When I say that religion should be introduced in our schools, certainly I do not want to bring up all those mummeries which go by the sacred name of it. I only want to bring up what is true, noble and precious in it. There are several sound and precious principles in it which have stood the test

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of centuries and which are still the admiration of the world. If these are properly infused into the minds of our young men, it will certainly elevate and strengthen their character and serve them in good stead in after years. In my opinion, education in which religion does not find a place is not worth the name at all.

I now turn my attention to the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. This department, though second to none in importance and usefulness, is treated financially on a par with the minor departments of the State such as Archaeology. Only a modest sum of a lakh and odd rupees is allotted for it. The child has grown up and begun to feel the wants of manhood; yet the parent treats it only as a child. The fact that agriculture is the chief occupation of the people of the country and that it must remain so for a long time to come should never be lost sight of. Moreover, in the face of the statement made by the Financial Secretary to Government that the factory industries are not to be encouraged, the importance of agriculture and the need to improve it vastly increase. However, we are fortunate in having one of the best men available in the whole of India as Director. He is equal to any task demanded of him. But without proper supplies he cannot be expected to do much. I would therefore request Government to ask the Director to bring forward an elaborate scheme for the improvement of the agriculture of this country, and supply him with funds more liberally. True, the department, as it now is, has done much; but much more remains to be done. Rice, as everybody knows, is the staple article of food in the country, The cultivation of paddy is in a poor condition. Half-hearted land-owners, half-starved coolies, skeleton bullocks, rotten ploughs, poor manure and poor crops are the phenomena to be met with everywhere. The cocoanut palm disease is literally ravaging the country. No efficient remedy has to my knowledge been as yet discovered. Cutting down trees, cutting the leaves &c., are the only remedies so far suggested. If so, perhaps the best remedy to eradicate the disease is to eradicate the tree itself. We hear often from responsible quarters that the disease has been brought under control and a change for the better is perceptible. Is it so? Perhaps departmental eyes are wanted to see this change. I have had ample occasion this year to travel over the affected areas. So far as my eyes are concerned,—they are only plain and not departmental—no such change was perceptible. The disease is there as mischievous as ever. True, the outcry over it has subsided a little. It is because people are quite tired of crying. Pepper, another important produce, is also deteriorating. There are many other things to be looked into by the department. The work before it is, indeed, very heavy. Without adequate supplies, nothing can be achieved.

In this connection, I wish to draw the attention of the Director to one thing. The Agricultural Department is the people's department. Its subordinates should be strictly guarded against catching contagion from some of the other departments, whose motto is that "a department exists not for the people's sake but for its own sake." The officers of the Agricultural Department should be particularly instructed to mingle much more freely with the ryots and study their ways and

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wants. Generally our ryots are very conservative by nature, very slow to see and still slower to act. It is the duty of the department to shake off their lethargy, to infuse the new spirit of enterprise and self-reliance into them and thus set them in the right direction.

The grant of agricultural loans is another subject I wish to touch upon. There is a growing discontent among the poor ryots regarding the disbursement of these loans. The major portion of the sum annually disbursed is availed of by well-to-do people, who, if they choose, can find other means for improving their lands. This is certainly detrimental to the interests of the poor. There is no doubt that the scheme of granting loans for agricultural purposes was created mainly with a view to help the deserving poor. I request Government to be pleased to order that preference should in all cases be given to the poor in this matter. If this is not done, one of the just grievances of the poor will remain unredressed. The Agricultural Department is the natural guardian of agriculture in the country. So that everything intended to improve it, such as agricultural loans, and irrigation works, should, as far as possible, be brought under the direct control of that department.

The last, but not the least, point on which I wish to say a few words is the poor problem. I do not mean to say anything on behalf of those poor who can work but who would not do it. I plead only for those miserable beings who, through infirmity or old age, are quite unable to work and cling entirely to charity. Though Travancore is widely known as the land of charity, I fear true charity here is too slender a thread to support them all. The fact that many such poor persons are being literally starved to death reflects little credit on the Government and the public at large. It is time we show some more earnestness in the matter and do something after the fashion of all enlightened countries in the world. Mr. Lloyd George, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced in Great Britain the system of old age pensions. May we hope that our Chancellor of the Exchequer also will be actuated with a desire to emulate his great namesake in England?

MR. N. V. JOSEPH (*Parur*): Sir, it is a matter for congratulation that the Government have succeeded to knock out as much revenue as possible from the people this year and that the misgivings of the Financial Secretary as expressed in the last year's budget have not come to pass. His misgivings were very reasonable and were shared even by the ryots. But the fact that the money has come to the exchequer is not an index that the country was able to pay. We must have clear statistics regarding the capital wealth of the country, its distribution among the people, the income they get, the expenditure they incur, and the savings they make. And unless we have an idea of all these things, it is not safe to conclude from the receipts that the people of the land are capable of paying these dues. We have yet to learn how many

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of these ryots were able to pay these dues with a margin of profit. How many demand notices had to be served? What coercive steps had to be taken, and how many people had to sell or mortgage their property? All these have to be learnt before we can conclude that, because they paid their dues, they were capable of paying. The revenue is realised not from the yield but from the land itself. But the Government tax collector is there with the Revenue Recovery Law in his hand, even though the people might not have derived anything from the land. It is easy for him to get the revenue from the people but it is not as easy for the people to derive the income from the land. As some of my friends here expressed, there is great distress in the country. In this connection, I am even tempted to quote a saying current among the people :

"നെല്ലും പുല്ലും മൂന്നുമാസം,
ചക്കയും മാങ്ങയും മൂന്നുമാസം,
പൊട്ടും പൊടിയും മൂന്നുമാസം
അങ്ങനെയും ഇങ്ങനെയും മൂന്നുമാസം."

That is how the people live. The real sufferers are the agriculturists with small holdings. They have absolutely no employment for a good portion of the year and the agriculturist of small holdings has often not more than one acre of land. A man, woman and children have all to hang upon this one acre. So there is not occupation enough for these people. Thus the great problem of the day is unemployment. I am glad to find that the Government have, in the statement of the Financial Secretary, struck the correct note. What the people are in need of is a subsidiary occupation and, as Government say, cottage industry must be encouaged. In my view also, if at all people are in need of anything for their sustenance, it is a subsidiary industry in the shape of the cottage industry. Rice is our staple food and agriculture our mainstay. In spite of all the efforts of the Agricultural Department, I ask, has the department succeeded in increasing the output of paddy? Of course, the methods advocated by the department are good, but they are too costly or prohibitive for the ordinary ryot to adopt. That shows that the ordinary ryot has not finance enough to have recourse to scientific methods advocated by the department. It is not the fault of the department; the people have no money. So to my mind the remedy lies in encouraging co-operative institutions, in starting cottage industries and granting agricultural loans. Unless these efforts of the Agricultural Department are made use of by the people, it is no good to have that department. Hand in hand with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, unless the Government pay more attention to the advancement of co-operative institutions and give liberal agricultural loans, the money spent on the Agricultural Department will not be sufficiently paid back.

Another topic I wished to speak upon was, as remarked by some of my friends here, about the fruits of modern education. Since several members have already spoken on it, I do not mean to speak anything more.

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Mr. [N. V. Joseph.]

I wish to refer to the pay of the subordinate strata of our administrative machinery. The police constable's pay and the Excise peon's pay is Rs. 9 a month. How is he going to live upon it? The natural consequence of this is that we place a premium on corruption. That is one of the root causes of the corruption prevailing on an elaborate scale in the public service. They are corrupt out of necessity. It is impossible for a man with a family to live on Rs. 9 or Rs. 10; so in spite of the large sum the people contribute to the exchequer, to let loose these biting dogs to shift for themselves among the people is a source of great danger. I am not unmindful of the fact that to raise their pay by Rs. 5, 6 or 10 will heavily tell on the exchequer. But we must find out the means because they now create more harm than good for the people. If the lower strata of the public service are not paid better, it is impossible to put down corruption. And corruption is an infectious disease. From the peon it will go to the master. I know that it will be rather difficult to put down corruption in the public service in the absence of strong assertive public opinion. So much so that public opinion is a good factor as a check to corruption. But it is precisely that which we do not have in Travancore. I mean, we have no strong assertive public opinion as a check to correct the corruption in the public service. We may have public feeling; but will the people come out, will they speak out for justice, pure and simple, irrespective of caste, creed and religion? The fault therefore lies on the people. Under these circumstances, I only ask the Government to provide a reflector to public opinion. My idea is this. Suppose, we create a local body, like the Municipal Council or the Panchayat court, composed of honorable men. Their function will be, either on their own initiative or on the recommendation of the people or the Government, to ascertain individual cases of corruption and report their findings to the authorities concerned. In this way we can provide a reflector of public opinion through which the Government can ascertain public opinion.

Before concluding, Sir, I may say a word or two about the budget in relation to North Travancore. I cannot but say that we, in the northern parts of Travancore, have rather fared ill especially in the hands of the Chief Engineer. During the monsoons our roads are under water. It may be a curious coincidence, we find the superior officers coming on circuit in the northern parts only during the Alwaye season. They are quite welcome during Mithunam and Karkatakam as well. We will give them a royal welcome then also.

Another important fact which I wish to bring to your notice is about the Periyar Dam. It has become a perpetual source of nuisance to the people who live on its banks. I do not know the remedy for this. Anyhow I ask my kind friend, the Financial Secretary, to allot some money for consulting a lawyer as to how we in Travancore can escape the evil effects of a scheme which robbing Peter to pay Paul smiles upon Madura and frowns upon Travancore.

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MR. S. GNANA JOSHUA (*Nominated*) : Sir, I read the Budget for the ensuing year with some care and the result is that I am confirmed in my opinion that questions relating to public finance, public accounts and public statistics can be satisfactorily dealt with only by experts. Mr. George, our Chief Account Officer, says that the year 1101 M. E. will be a fat one in which there will be a surplus of Rs. 3,79,000. He seems to have arrived at this conclusion after a careful study of a number of facts and figures. He has also a long practical experience in this line of work. Unless I am supplied with all these facts and figures, it is not possible for me to offer an intelligent and effective criticism of the forecasts made by Mr. George. His forecasts may not prove to be mathematically accurate but would be substantially correct. If I offer criticisms without the facts and figures that were placed before him, my criticisms, Sir, will be only tentative and provisional, liable to be withdrawn in the light of fuller information and explanation. There is a great probability that his conclusion may prove to be right ; and after all probability is the guide of human life. I shall therefore take for granted that Mr. George is correct in his estimates of the revenue and expenditure for the coming year.

As it is proposed to spend next year more than two crores of rupees and as Mr. George expects a surplus, I think I shall be justified in putting before this House three or four suggestions. My first suggestion is that the Government may be pleased to lay out more money to promote Tamil Education by not only opening more schools in the Tamil taluks but also in those localities in other taluks where Tamil-speaking communities live in large numbers. The great antiquity and excellence of the Tamil language, the only living classical language in the world, and the rich literature that is enshrined in it have been already brought to the notice of the Council and the Government. The Tamil-speaking communities number six lakhs and form 15 per cent. of the total population of the State. I think that all the Tamil schools should be placed under a Tamil Inspector on a salary adequate to his work and that he should be made to work directly under the orders of the Director of Public Instruction, and that the Director should be assisted by an Advisory Board consisting of half a dozen Tamil scholars, both official and non-official. The expenditure incurred on Tamil education should be shown in the Budget under a separate detailed head under the general head 'Education.' The existing detailed head *viz.*, "Vernacular Education" may be split up into two distinct detailed heads *viz.*, (1) "Malayalam Education" and (2) "Tamil Education". I am of opinion that Tamil education cannot make any satisfactory progress in this State unless some such arrangement is made sooner or later.

My second suggestion is that Government may be pleased to be a little more liberal in their policy towards the educational advancement of communities known as (1) hill tribes, (2) depressed classes and (3) backward communities. These communities constitute more than one-third of the total population. It is often forgotten that they are

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[Mr. S. Gnana Joshua.]

very useful members of society and not its mere drones. They contribute their share towards the prosperity of the State by their labour. These communities were utterly neglected by the Government for the last one hundred years and the concessions now allowed simply represent the inadequate penalty the Government pay for their sad neglect of these communities for such a long period. Eighty years ago, the members belonging to these communities had not the most elementary right of even dressing themselves as they pleased. The European missionaries and planters have already done something towards the general uplift of these communities. The missionaries opened a number of schools for these people and the planters utilised their labour in the development of the planting industry to the mutual benefit of the employers and the employed. Both the missionaries and the planters freely employed those members of these communities who possessed a working knowledge of the English language as teachers, catechists, clergymen, ministers, tea-makers, rubber makers, clerks, accountants, conductors &c., long before our Government thought of employing the few graduates belonging to these communities as clerks, magistrates, munsiffs &c. Most of the prosperous families found amongst these communities in South Travancore trace their prosperity to the money earned by their grandfathers or fathers who were employed under either missionaries or planters in Travancore and Ceylon. The Government have just begun to improve the hard lot of these people by granting them some concessions. Our Government was the first to give these concessions irrespective of the religious faith of the members of these communities and the Madras Government have also recently adopted this policy. I think the hill tribes should receive more concessions than the depressed classes and the latter should receive more concessions than the backward communities.

The full-fee concession allowed to the students of the depressed classes in the English Schools may be extended to the Colleges as well, as the number of students from these communities is not likely to exceed half a dozen, every year. Now there is not a single student from the depressed classes in the Colleges of Science and Arts. The amount proposed to be spent on the education of these communities should be shown in the budget under a separate detailed head under the general head "Education", as is done in the Mysore State Budget, so that the public may know the exact amount spent by Government on the Education of these communities. Mr. George has sounded a note of warning in his financial statement that the expenditure under education has gone up by leaps and bounds; but I am glad to find his assurance that no action would be taken by Government without consulting the interests involved. I submit, in this connection, that education has just begun to influence the depressed classes and it has not yet touched the hill tribes. It has spread only to some extent amongst the backward communities. The concessions may be withdrawn as soon as these communities are able to stand on their own legs.

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The next point I wish to talk about is the provision of approach roads and wells to the villages of these people. The P. W. D. has been in existence for over sixty years. Somehow or other, we find that the villages are not provided with approach roads and wells. During epidemic seasons, we find these people are carried away by cholera and other water-borne diseases. Therefore, more money should be provided for this purpose. I find that, for 10 wells Rs. 1,000 is provided. That comes to Rs. 100 for a well. To other communities the cost of sinking wells is Rs. 970. I do not know why these people should be asked to sink wells at a cost of Rs. 100 while the Government have provided Rs. 970 to help members of other communities. These wells also should be sunk at Government cost.

The House adjourned for lunch at 2 P. M. and reassembled at 2-46 P. M.

MR. C. N. TUPPAN NAMPUTIRI (*Jenmi*): സർ, കഴിഞ്ഞ ബുധനാഴ്ച ഈ സഭയുടെ പരിശോധനക്കായി ഫിനാൻഷ്യൽ സിക്രട്ടറി സമർപ്പിച്ച നക്കൽ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ എത്രയൊ പിന്നോക്കം നിൽക്കുന്ന ഒരു വർഗ്ഗക്കാരുടെ പ്രതിനിധിയും, ആ ഭാഷയിൽ അപരിചിതനും ആയ എന്നെ പലേ വിധത്തിൽ അസഹ്യപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങളിൽ എത്രയൊ ചെറിയതായ ഒരംശത്തെ ഒഴിച്ചു ബാക്കി മുഴുവൻ മലയാളികളും, മലയാളം മാതൃഭാഷ ആയിട്ടുള്ളവരും ആണെങ്കിലും ഗവർണ്മെൻറു ഓരോ ദിവസംചെല്ലുംതോറും ജനങ്ങളുംക്രടി അറിഞ്ഞിരിക്കേണ്ട എഴുത്തുകുത്തുകളും, പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണങ്ങളും അവക്കറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാത്ത ഒരു വിദേശ ഭാഷയിലാണ് നടത്തുന്നത്. ഇത് എത്രയൊ ദയനീയമായ ഒരു സംഗതി ആയിട്ടാണ് ഞാൻ കാണുന്നത്. മലയാളഭാഷക്ക് പ്രാധാന്യം നാംകേണ്ടുന്നതിനെപറ്റി മിസ്റ്റർ ശ്രീവിക്രമൻ വാസുദേവൻ നംബൂ-തിരി ഈ സഭയിൽ അവതരിപ്പിച്ച ഒരു പ്രമേയത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് വാദപ്രതിവാദംനടന്നകൊണ്ടിരുന്നപ്പോൾ "ഗവർണ്മെൻറു ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ഭാഷയെപോലെ മലയാളത്തിനും പ്രാധാന്യം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു" ഗവർണ്മെൻറു മെംബർ മറുപടിപറഞ്ഞതായി നിയമസഭാനടപടികൾ രണ്ടാംവാല്യം ഏഴാംപുസ്തകം ഫാ ന്നു-ാം വശത്തു ഞാൻ കാണുന്നു. ആ വാക്കും ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ അനന്തര നടപടികളും ക്രടി നോക്കുംപോൾ അതിലുള്ള വ്യത്യാസത്തിൽ ഞാൻ വ്യസനിക്കുന്നു. നാട്ടുകാരായ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടിഒരു നാട്ടുരാജാവിനാൽ ഭരിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഈ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഭരണസംബന്ധമായ വിവരങ്ങൾ ഒരു വിദേശഭാഷയുടെ സഹായത്താൽമാത്രമെ ധരിക്കുവാൻപാടൊ

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[Mr. C. N. Tuppan Namputiri.]

ള്ള എന്നുവരുന്നതും ആ ഭാഷക്കു നാട്ടുഭാഷയെക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ മാന്യത നൽകണമെന്നു ശഠിക്കുന്നതും പരിഷ്കാരത്തിന്റെ പരിഹാസാസ്പദമായ ഒരു സ്വഭാവവിശേഷമാകുന്നു. ഈ മുഖവുരയോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ മനസ്സിലാക്കിയെടത്തോളം ബഡ്ജറിനെ പറ്റി എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു് സഭയുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നുകൊള്ളട്ടെ.

നിരൂപണത്തിനായി എന്റെ കയ്യിൽ കിട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ളതായ ബഡ്ജറിൽ കാണിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നപ്രകാരം സംഗതികൾ നടക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അടുത്തവർഷം ധനസംബന്ധമായ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൂടാതെ ഒരുവിധം കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടാമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു. ക്രമാനുഗതമായ വരവിനങ്ങളും, ചിലവിനങ്ങളും സാധാരണപോലെ ബഡ്ജറു വിശദപ്പെടുത്തുന്നുണ്ടു്. ചിലവു വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു അനുസരിച്ചു് വരവു വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമം ചെയ്യുന്നതും വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരുന്ന വരവിനു അനുസരണമായി ചിലവു വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതും ഇവിടെ സാധാരണമായി തീർന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ബഡ്ജറു എന്നുവച്ചാൽ വരവു ചിലവുകളെ സമപ്പെടുത്തുകയാണെന്നു ആദ്യകാലത്തു ഒരാളിൽ നിന്നും ഞാൻ ധരിച്ചിരുന്നു. ആ ധാരണ ശരിയാണെന്നു ഇപ്പോൾമാത്രമാണു് മനസ്സിലാക്കേണ്ടിവന്നതു്. എനിക്കു ലഭിച്ച ആയവ്യയ അടങ്കൽ ഇവിടത്തെ ധനസ്ഥിതിയെ ക്രമപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതല്ലെന്നും, വരവുചിലവു തുകകളെ ശരിപ്പെടുത്തുകയാണു് ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നും എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നു. ഈ നിലയെ മാറ്റി ധനസ്ഥിതിയെ നിയന്ത്രണം ചെയ്യുന്ന വിധത്തിലും, അതിനെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു മനസ്സിലാക്കാവുന്ന വിധത്തിലും ബഡ്ജറു തയ്യാറാക്കുന്നതു് നന്നായിരിക്കുമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം.

ബഡ്ജറിനെപ്പറ്റി സാമാന്യമായി പറയുവാനൊരുങ്ങുമ്പോൾ ഏതു മയത്തിൽ മൻപിട്ടുനിൽക്കുന്നതു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആഹാരസാധന സംഭരണമാണു്. ഇവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രധാനമായ തൊഴിൽ കൃഷി ആയിരുന്നിട്ടും നാട്ടുകാർ ആഹാരസാധനങ്ങൾക്കു അന്യദേശങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നു എന്നതു് എത്രയോ പരിതാപകരമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയാണു്. കാടുകളിലും തരിശുനിലങ്ങളിലും നിന്നു് കൂടുതലായി എത്രയും സ്ഥലം കൃഷിചെയ്യുവാൻ പതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുകയും, ഉൽപന്നങ്ങളുടെ അളവു വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ വൻപിച്ചതുക ചിലവിട്ടു ഒരു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റു നടത്തികൊണ്ടിരിക്കയും ചെയ്തിട്ടും ജനങ്ങൾ നെല്ലും, അരിയും അന്യദേശങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും വരുത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതു് എത്രയോ ലജ്ജാവഹമാണു്. എത്രയും കൊല്ലം മൻപു നടന്നിരുന്ന ഭയങ്കര യുദ്ധം ഈ

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നാട്ടുകാരെ അവരുടെ ആഹാരസാധനങ്ങൾക്കു വിദേശങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിക്കുന്നത് എത്രയൊ അപകടകരമാണെന്ന പഠിപ്പിക്കയുണ്ടായി. ഈ പാഠംകൊണ്ടു പ്രയോജനമുണ്ടാവണമെങ്കിൽ മേലാലെങ്കിലും ആഹാരസാധനങ്ങൾക്ക് ഇതരദേശങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിക്കാതെ നമുക്കു കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടാറാകണം.

കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിനുവേണ്ടി ഒരു വലിയതുക ചിലവിടുകയും ആ തുക ശമ്പളത്തിനും മറ്റുമായി ഉപയോഗിച്ച് ചില മാതൃകാകൃഷിതോട്ടങ്ങൾമാത്രം നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഗണ്യമായ പ്രയോജനം ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നതോന്നുന്നില്ല. എനിക്കു കാണുവാൻ ഇടയായ ഏതാനും മാതൃകാകൃഷിതോട്ടങ്ങൾ പരമാർത്ഥത്തിൽ അതിനടുത്തു സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങൾ സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്ന കൃഷിതോട്ടങ്ങളെ അപേക്ഷിച്ചു വിളവിലും പ്രയോജനത്തിലും തീരെ മോശമായിരുന്നു. കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നതിനും ലഘുപത്രികകൾ വിതരണം ചെയ്യുന്നതിലും സമർത്ഥന്മാരാണെന്നു ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. പക്ഷേ അവർ ബിരുദധാരികളായതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കാം കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളെ അറിഞ്ഞു അറിയുന്നതിനും ഉൽപന്നങ്ങളെ വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും പ്രായേണ വിമുഖന്മാരായിട്ടാണ് കാണുന്നത്. കൃഷിയെ ദോഷപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന അണുകൃമികളെ നശിപ്പിച്ച് കൃഷിക്കാരെ രക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനു ഉൽസാഹിക്കുന്ന കർഷകന്മാർ എത്രയൊ നാളായി മുറവിളികൂട്ടുന്നുണ്ട്. കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാർ അതിനു പലേ അന്വേഷണങ്ങളും നടത്തുന്നുണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. എന്നാൽ അതുകൊണ്ടൊന്നും കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു പറയത്തക്ക പ്രയോജനം ഇതുവരെ കിട്ടികഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. മീനച്ചിൽ മുതലായ താലൂക്കുകളിൽ തെങ്ങ്, കുരുമുളകു ഇവക്കു പിടിപെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന വസന്തരോഗത്തിനു പരിഹാരമായി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാർ അതിനെ നശിപ്പിച്ചുകളയുന്നതിനു ഉപദേശിച്ചു എന്ന് ഇനിക്കു അറിവുണ്ട്. രോഗം പിടിച്ചു ചികിത്സക്കു അവശ്യപ്പെടുന്ന രോഗികളെ മരുന്നുകൊടുത്തു സുഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനു പകരം തുക്കിലിടുവാൻ കല്പിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ മാത്രമാണ് കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാരുടെ ഈ ഉപദേശം. നാം കൃഷിവകുപ്പിനുവേണ്ടി ചിലവിടുന്ന സംഖ്യ ആ വിഷയത്തിൽ ജനങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടാകുന്ന സംകടങ്ങളെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാനും, വിളവുകളെ വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുവാനും ആണ് ഉപകരിക്കേണ്ടത്. രണ്ടുലക്ഷത്തോടടുത്ത ഒരു സംഖ്യ ചിലവിട്ടിട്ടും ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന ഫലം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതു മഹാകഷ്ടംതന്നെ ആണ്.

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[Mr. C. N. Tuppan Nambutiri].

അടുത്തതായി ഇനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളത് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവകുപ്പിനെ പറ്റിയാണ്. സാങ്കേതിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന് ഉൾപ്പെടെ നാല്പതുലക്ഷത്തോളംരൂപാ ഈ ഇനത്തിലേക്കു നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ വരവിന്റെ സ്ഥിതി നോക്കുമ്പോൾ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുവേണ്ടി മാറ്റിവച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ സംഖ്യ അത്ര ചെറിയതാണെന്നു പറയുവാൻതരമില്ല. പക്ഷെ എന്റെ സംശയം ഈ വൻപിച്ചതുക വേണ്ടവഴിക്കാണൊ ചിലവിടുന്നത് എന്നാണ്. നാട്ടുഭാഷാഭ്യസനത്തിനും, ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗത്തിനു വേണ്ട അറിവു സമ്പാദിക്കുന്നതിനും അല്ലാതെ ഈ തുകയുടെ അധികഭാഗവും വിനിയോഗിക്കുക കാരണം നാട്ടിൽ അസമാധാനവും, അസംതൃപ്തിയുമാണ് വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരുന്നതു്. ഇത് അഭിമാനകരമൊ ആശാജനകമൊ ആണെന്നു പറവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഈ നിലയെ മാറേണ്ടത് ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെയും, ഈ സഭയിലെ അംഗങ്ങളുടെയും കടമയാണെന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നു.

വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെപറ്റി പറയുമ്പോൾ ആ വിഷയത്തിൽ പിന്നോക്കം നിൽക്കുന്നവരുടെയും, അധഃകൃതവർഗ്ഗക്കാരുടേയും കാര്യം വിസ്മരിക്കുത്തക്കതല്ലാ.. വിദ്യാലയങ്ങളിൽ ചെന്നു പഠിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള അസൌകര്യങ്ങളും, ചിലവുകളും വർദ്ധിച്ചു വരുന്ന ഈ കാലത്തു സ്വാധാരണക്കാർക്കും താണതരക്കാർക്കും ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ പ്രോത്സാഹനമില്ലാതെ ഉന്നത വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം പ്രായേണ അസാധ്യമായിട്ടേ ഇരിക്കയൊള്ളൂ. വിദ്യാർത്ഥി വേതനകാര്യത്തിലും ഫീസുസൌജന്യത്തിലും ഗവർണ്മെൻറു കൈക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഉദാരമായ നയം അഭിനന്ദിനീയം തന്നെ. പക്ഷെ ആ നയം ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ മുൻപാകെ മുറവിളിക്കൂട്ടുന്നതിൽ അപ്രാപ്തന്മാരായവർക്കു യാതൊരു ഗുണവും ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലാ എന്നത് ശോചനീയം തന്നെ. സ്വത്തിനെ പരിഗണിക്കാതെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലുള്ള സ്ഥിതിയെ നോക്കി ചിലവർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കു ഇപ്പോൾ ഗവർണ്മെൻറു അനുവദിച്ചു കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഏതാനും സൌജന്യങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും മലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണരെ എന്തുകൊണ്ടു ഒഴിവാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്ന അറിവാൻ എനിക്ക് ആഗ്രഹം ഉണ്ട്. ഈസംഗതി ഒരിക്കൽ ഈസഭയുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽപെട്ടെങ്കിലും ഗവർണ്മെൻറു അതിനെ ആദരിച്ചതായി യാതൊരു ലക്ഷ്യവും കാണപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ലാ. വിദ്യാർത്ഥിവേതനകമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ മലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെ കാര്യം ആസമുദായത്തെ പറ്റിയുള്ള പഠിപ്പും, അവരുടെ സ്ഥിതിയും അറിവുള്ള എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതൻ മിസ്റ്റർ പി. കെ. നാരായണപിള്ള കൊണ്ടു വന്ന

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പ്പോഴും ഗവർണ്മെൻറു അതിനെ കൈക്കൊള്ളുവാൻ തയ്യാറായിരുന്നില്ലാ. മലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണർ സമ്പത്തുള്ളവരും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവരും ആണെന്ന ഒരു ധാരണ പലർക്കും ഉണ്ടു. കണ്ടെഴുത്തു റിക്കാർഡുകളിൽ ഭൂമിയുടെ ഇനം കാണിക്കുന്നിടത്തു എൻെറ സമുദായക്കാരുടെ പേരുകൾ പലപ്പോ വശ്യവും ചേർത്തിട്ടുണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. എഴുത്തും വായനയും ശീലമുള്ളവരും ഒട്ടധികം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കാം. പക്ഷെ ഇന്നു് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം എന്നു പറയുന്ന സർട്ടിഫിക്കറുകളും ബിരുദങ്ങളും സമ്പാദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരും, സമ്പാദിക്കുവാൻ തക്ക ധനശക്തിയുള്ളവരും മലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണരിൽ വളരെ കുറവാണു്. ജാതിതിരിച്ചുള്ള വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളുടെ കണക്കിൽ നിന്നും മറ്റും ഈ സംഗതി വെളിവാകുന്നുണ്ടെന്നാണു എൻെറ ബോധ്യം. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളിലും കാളേജുകളിലും പഠിക്കുന്നതും, പഠിക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നതും ആയ മലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണവിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിൽ പിന്നോക്കം നിൽക്കുന്ന വർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കുള്ള സഹായം ലഭിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ പറ്റിയുള്ള മറെറാരു പ്രധാന സംഗതി നാട്ടുഭാഷാവിദ്യാലയങ്ങളുടെ ദയനീയമായ സ്ഥിതിയാണു്. ഗവർണ്മെൻറു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനായി ചിലവിടുന്ന സംഖ്യയിൽ അധികഭാഗവും ഇപ്പോൾ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ശാഖക്കാണു് വിനിയോഗിക്കുന്നത്. മലയാളം സ്കൂളുകളുടെ ശോഷിച്ച നിലയും, ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് സ്കൂളുകളുടെ തടിച്ചുനിലയും നോക്കി കാണുന്ന ഒരു വിദേശിക്കു അത് ഒരേഗവർണ്മെൻറിനാൽ നടത്തപ്പെടുന്നതാണെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ ഇന്നു് സാധിക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ലാ. ഇടിഞ്ഞു പൊളിഞ്ഞ ചുവരും നനഞ്ഞു പൊളിഞ്ഞ മേക്കൂട്ടും മലയാളം സ്കൂളുകളുടെ ലക്ഷണമാണെങ്കിൽ ഉറപ്പുള്ള മതിലും വെടിപ്പുള്ളഭിത്തിയും ഓടുമേഞ്ഞ പുരയുമാണു് ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് സ്കൂളുകളുടെ ലക്ഷണം. ഒരേ മേലധ്യക്ഷൻെറ കീഴിൽ ഒരേ സ്ഥലത്തു ഈ വിധം സ്കൂളുകളെ കാണുമ്പോൾ ഏതുഭാഷാഭിമാനിക്കും ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന വ്യഥയവേദന എത്രമാത്രമെന്നു ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ എടുത്തു പ്രസ്ഥാവിക്കണമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നില്ലാ. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് സ്കൂളുകളിലെ താഴ്ന്നതരം അധ്യാപകൻ ൨൫ മുതൽ ൪൦ വരെ ശമ്പളം വാങ്ങുമ്പോൾ മലയാളം പള്ളിക്കൂടത്തിലെ ഒരധ്യാപകൻ വെറും ൫൪ രൂപ കൊണ്ടു തൃപ്തിപ്പെടേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഉയർന്ന വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഇംഗ്ലീഷിലാണെങ്കിലെ മതിയാകയൊള്ളു എന്നാണു് ഇവിടത്തെ ബോധ്യം. ഈ സംപ്രദായം മാററി മലയാളഭാഷ്യാഭ്യസനത്തിനു പ്രാധാന്യം നൽകണമെന്നും, ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് സാഹിത്യത്തിനു സാങ്കേതികമായി മാത്രംപ്രാധാന്യം നൽകിയാൽ മതിയാകുമെന്നുമാണു് എൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം.

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[Mr. C. N. Tuppan Nambutiri.]

മലയാളഭാഷയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളമുള്ള ഗവർണ്മെൻറു നയത്തെ സ്മരിച്ചതോടു കൂടി മറെറാരു സ്മരണയും എൻെറ ഹൃദയത്തിൽ ഉദിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. നിസ്സാഹായന്മാരെയും രോഗികളേയും സംരക്ഷിക്കുക ഗവർണ്മെൻറിൻെറ കർത്തവ്യങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നാണല്ലൊ. രോഗനിവാരണത്തിനും രോഗികളുടെ സംരക്ഷണത്തിനുമായി ഇവിടെയും നിസ്സാരമല്ലാത്ത ഒരു തുക ബഡ്ജററിൽ നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. പക്ഷെ അതുഭാഗത്തും ദേശീയരായെ വിസ്മരിച്ചു വിദേശസംപ്രദായത്തെ പരിരക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കയാണു് ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു പറയാതിരിക്കുവാൻ നിർവാഹമില്ലാ. ഈ രാജ്യത്തു ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ചികിത്സാ സംപ്രദായം കുടിയേറീട്ടു കൊല്ലങ്ങൾ അധികമായിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിലും ആ പ്രസ്ഥാനത്തിനു ഗവർണ്മെൻറു സാഹായത്തൊടു കൂടി സ്ഥിരപ്രതിഷ്ഠലഭിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വൈദ്യത്തിന്നായി പ്രത്യേകം ഏർപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുള്ള മെഡിക്കൽ വകുപ്പിലേക്കു അടുത്തവർഷത്തെ ബഡ്ജററിൽ എട്ടു ലക്ഷത്തിഎൺപത്തി ഒരായിരം രൂപാ നീക്കി വച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഇതിൽ നിന്നും നാട്ടുവൈദ്യമായ ആയുർവേദത്തിചിലവുചെയ്യുവാൻ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു് ന്യൂ, നെ വൃരൂപാമാത്രമാണു്. ശസ്ത്രക്രിയഒഴിച്ചാൽ ഈഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വൈദ്യസംപ്രദായംനാട്ടുവൈദ്യത്തെക്കാൾ എത്രയൊ താഴ്ന്നപടിയിലാണെന്നേ ഈ നാട്ടുകാർകരുതുന്നൊള്ളു. ഈരാജ്യത്തെ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വൈദ്യപ്രസ്ഥാനം ഇവിടത്തെ ധനസഞ്ചയത്തെ നാട്ടുകടത്തുവാനല്ലെപയ്യാപ്പമാക്കുന്നതെന്നു പലരും ഭയപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഈ ദേശത്തിന്നും, ഇവിടത്തെ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങൾക്കും ഇന്നും ആയുർവേദ ചികിത്സാസമ്പ്രദായത്തൊടാണു് കൂടുതൽ അനുഭാവമുള്ളതു്. നാട്ടുംപുറങ്ങളിൽ വൈദ്യസഹായം ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നവർ ആയുർവേദ വൈദ്യനെ മാത്രമെ അന്വേഷിക്കാറൊള്ളു. ആയുർവേദത്തിനും ഒരു സ്ഥാനം നൽകീട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ആ വകുപ്പിനു വേണ്ടതു പോലെ വളരാൻ ബഡ്ജററിൽ തുക വച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നേ ഞാൻ പറയുന്നൊള്ളു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വൈദ്യത്തെ താലോലിക്കുന്നതിലധികം അതിനവകാശപ്പെട്ട ആയുർവേദ വകുപ്പിനെ പരിപോഷിപ്പിക്കുകയും കൂടുതലായി ആയുർവേദൌഷധാലയങ്ങളും, ചികിത്സാലയങ്ങളും, ഔഷധത്തോട്ടങ്ങളും രാജ്യത്തിൽ അവിടവിടെ സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ട സംഖ്യ അനുവദിക്കേണ്ടതും ഈ സഭയുടേയും കടമയാകുന്നു.

ഈരാജ്യത്തെ പുരാതനരേഖകളെ അന്വേഷിച്ചറിയുന്നതിനും, അവയെ സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനും ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്ന അക്കിയൎളജിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു അടുത്ത മകരത്തൊടു കൂടി നിർത്തലാക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശി

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ച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതായി ബഡ്ജറു കൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ ഉൗഹിക്കുന്നു. ഇൻഡ്യയിലും ഇതരരാജ്യങ്ങളിലും പുരാതന വസ്തുക്കളെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള അന്വേഷണങ്ങളും അവയെ സംരക്ഷിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഏർപ്പാടുകളും ക്രമേണ തലായി ആരംഭിച്ചിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇവിടെ അതിനെതിരെ നിന്നിക്കളയുവാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു് എന്തുകാരണത്തിന്മേലാണെന്നു എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ലാ. ചിലവു ചുരുക്കുവാനുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശം മാത്രമെങ്കിൽ മറുവകുപ്പുകളിൽ ചിലതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ആ നയം സ്വീകരിക്കാമായിരുന്നു. സാനിട്ടറി, ഭ്രൂഗർഭശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞൻ, ഫോട്ടോഗ്രാഫർ, സംസ്കൃതവും മലയാളവും ക്യൂറേട്ടർമാർ മുതലായ അപ്രധാനങ്ങളായ ഏർപ്പാടുകളെ നിർത്തുന്നതായിരുന്നു ഇതിലും അധികം നന്നാവുക. സംസ്കൃതവും മലയാളവും ക്യൂറേട്ടറു ജോലി ഇപ്പോൾ വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം പ്രവൃത്തി സിദ്ധിക്കാത്ത കാളേജിലെ സംസ്കൃതവും, മലയാളവും പ്രാസംഗികന്മാക്കു നൽകിയാൽ ക്രമേണ ചിലവു ക്രമാതെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ പോലെ തുടർന്നു കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പുരാതനത്വവും, അന്നത്തെ കാഴ്ചപ്രദർശനങ്ങളും, ചരിത്രരേഖകളും കുറെ എല്ലാം നമുക്കു കണ്ടറിയുവാൻ ആക്കിയാളജിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാരണം സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു് എന്നുള്ളതു് ഓർമ്മിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

ഉൾനാടുകളിലെ സഞ്ചാരസൌകര്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും കൂടി ചില കാര്യങ്ങൾ പ്രസ്താപിച്ചിട്ടു എന്റെ പ്രസംഗം ഉപസംഹരിച്ചു കൊള്ളാം. പൊതുമരാമത്തു വകുപ്പിലേക്കു വേറതിരിച്ചു കാണിക്കുന്ന വന്ന ലക്ഷത്തിൽ പരം രൂപായിൽ ചെറിയ ഒരംശമെ നാട്ടുംപുറങ്ങളിലെ പുതിയ റോഡുകൾക്കായി നീക്കി വച്ചിട്ടുള്ളു. പുതിയതായി വെട്ടുവാനുദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള റോഡുകളുടെ എണ്ണവും, അവയുടെ ദൈർഘ്യവും തുകെ അവകുപ്പിലേക്കു നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുള്ള സംഖ്യയുടെ വലിപ്പത്തെ പറ്റി ഓർക്കുമ്പോൾ എത്രയൊ നിസ്സാരമാണ്. ഉത്തരതിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ സഞ്ചരിക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്ന ഒരു യാത്രക്കാരനു ഈ രാജ്യത്തു സഞ്ചാരസൌകര്യത്തിനു വേണ്ടി പണം അനുവദിക്കാറുണ്ടെന്നൊ, അതിലേക്കു ഇഞ്ചിനീയർ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു എന്നൊരു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു ഉണ്ടെന്നൊ മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ നന്നു പ്രയാസമാണ്. ഭീമമായ കെട്ടിടങ്ങൾക്കും, ശമ്പളത്തിനുംവേണ്ടി ഒട്ടധികം രൂപാ അനുവദിക്കുന്നതിനോടു കൂടി നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ സഞ്ചാരസൌകര്യവും മറന്നു പോകുന്നെങ്കിൽ അതു് മഹാകഷ്ടമാണെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നൊള്ളു. ഈ വക സംഗതികളിൽ സഭയുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിവേണ്ടതുപോലെ പതിയുമെന്നു ഞാൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു.

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MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): Sir, before proceeding to a general review of the Budget, I must at the very outset congratulate the Government and the Financial Secretary for the very successful way in which they have steered the ship of State through an year of distress and calamity caused by the terrible flood unprecedented in the annals of Travancore. Though the Financial Secretary predicted a deficit of Rs. 93,000 in his last year's Budget, yet in the actual working of it, he has shown us a surplus of Rs. 4·16 lakhs. In the Budget framed for next year, he anticipates a surplus of nearly four lakhs of rupees. He concludes his report by saying that the improvement which the Budget discloses is an earnest of continued financial stability.

But I am not prepared to participate in this optimism of Mr. George, inasmuch as the surplus shown is the result of arresting development. Many of the activities of the commonweal are not sufficiently provided for. All sources of revenue have been exploited to their utmost productive capacity so that they cannot yield anything more. Our sources of revenue are few and inelastic. One great source of our revenue is the income from cocoanut palms. The cocoanut trees on the banks of the backwaters all over North Travancore have since the last dozen years been attacked by a virulent type of cocoanut-palm disease. Unless this disease is diagnosed and effective remedy sought, the income of the State would be sharply affected.

Secondly, the excise revenue which is a large item in the income of the Government and which appears to be increasing steadily year after year and might therefore give the promise of financial stability in the future, is a revenue of which we should be ashamed. It is blood money wrung out of the groans of the people, it is a tainted source, it is an immoral revenue, and, as a civilized State, we should be glad of the day when it will vanish completely. The prospects are that the temperance movement, when it comes to be worked enthusiastically as it shortly will be, is likely to bring about this consummation. Hence we cannot count upon the excise revenue as a secure source.

Another thing which I wish to bring to the notice of the Government is the monopoly given in regard to lime-shell. After all, the income that is derived out of this monopoly is not more than Rs. 5,000 a year. As a result of this, the cost of lime has risen to 3½ times the original price. What was originally worth ½ a chackram per kerosene tin is now worth 1¾ chackrams. The Government must evidently be a loser in this transaction, for they have got to pay a very high price for all the lime required by the P. W. and Agricultural Departments. This income therefore is only a delusive income. Again, I know personally that a lot of people, belonging to the depressed classes, depended upon this as a means of sustenance. It is hoped that the Government will not continue this monopoly.

The optimism of Mr. George should therefore be qualified. We cannot rest on our oars in the smug hope that year after year the budget

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will balance. We cannot escape the necessity for looking ahead and providing for a rainy day—a day when money shall be scarce and the need for it great.

If we pause to consider the expenditure of the State, we shall find that in almost all departments it increases year by year. Every departmental reorganisation has proved fully the excuse for increasing the expenditure on it. It is only natural, for, every progressive Government has to provide for increased expenditure.

If we, therefore, secure a surplus after meeting all the legitimate needs of a progressive Government, we should congratulate ourselves. But if we show a surplus for the mere sake of giving an earnest of our financial stability, even though it might have been secured by starving nation-building activities, we shall not be justified in entertaining the same kind of self-satisfaction. Already the railway debt is hanging on our shoulders like a mill-stone. On the other hand, we are already committed to the highly necessary, but hugely expensive, Kottarakara-Alwaye line. Money has to be found for constructing this line. How are we to find money from the inelastic sources alone, now open to us? These are matters for the Government to consider before forming a settled conclusion about the finance of the country. If the Financial Secretary had, instead of taking pains to balance the budget year after year, exercised greater imagination and disclosed ways and means of meeting the heavy expenditure on the above-mentioned items which are in store for us in the future, we might cry at the top of our voice that our finances are stable. In a country where the sources of revenue are inelastic and items of expenditure steadily on the increase, there can be no continued financial stability, though the revenue may sometimes show an increase over expenditure.

The financial prosperity of a State may be secured in two ways, *i.e.*, (1) by improving the sources of revenue, and (2) by following a careful policy in expenditure, though not a miserly one. All Governments have to follow these two precepts and our Government apparently has done the same in the past. But still there is scope for improving the productive sources of our revenue and of cutting short unnecessary, wasteful and extravagant expenditure. Ours is an agricultural country and our income also is agricultural. Our cultivation has not yet become as extensive as it might be. There are large waste lands which, thanks to the Almighty's blessings on this country, granted in the shape of climate and soil, are invitingly waiting for the pioneer's plough. There is a social and economic necessity for bringing such lands under cultivation. Our participation in the Wembley Exhibition was with the hope that it will organise our commerce in such a way as to make the products of our country go farthest in the world's market. I hope this aim would still be kept in view. I am glad to note the turn of events is unconsciously revising the terms of the Interportal Convention in our favour. As has been so often urged in this House, I would also recommend the speedy revision of the Convention.

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[Mr. K. Sivarama Panikkar.]

Our country has not yet been industrialised; but it has been the effort of the Government to bring about an industrial revolution. Though much money has been spent upon this object, we cannot say that the aim has been achieved. Our President, in one of his early utterances, has pointed out that the industrialisation of this country is one of the goals of his administration. We, therefore, expect that the problems will be studied with greater attention, wider knowledge and a steadfast will to achieve the desired result.

Retrenchment had been the watchword of the previous Council. Still it cannot be said that all superfluous limbs have been amputated from the public service. There are sinecures without number. There are D. S. P's., A. S. P's and Inspectors in the Police Department; Executive Engineers, Assistant Engineers, Sub-Engineers and Overseers in the Engineering Department; there are a host of Assistant Excise Commissioners and an army of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors in the Excise Department. The multiplication of these officers only adds to the heaviness of paper-work in the office. The appetite grows by what it feeds on; the increase of officers necessitates further increase. For example, in the Excise Department, the number of Assistant Commissioners has been raised from 4 to 12. The Commissioner, unable to adequately supervise these, asks for an office Manager. This is also the origin of those class of officers called Personal Assistants. The result is a vicious centralisation; decentralisation is the only remedy. The colleges, we fear, are greatly over-staffed. Recently, there has been a regular shower of Assistant Professors, Tutors and Demonstrators. In the Judicial Department, there are the temporary Benches, Courts, Judges and Munsiffs. It is notorious that the word 'temporary' has no meaning here, and everything so denoted has really come to stay. Then, why not make them permanent and call them so? A committee on the public services, composed of both official and non-official elements, will find ample work to do, in cutting down superfluous offices and effecting other retrenchments.

I must say in this connection that no portion of Mr. George's report gives more pleasant reading than where he says that the Government have at last recognised serious defects in the working of the Land Records Maintenance Department and that they do not propose to continue the department beyond Tulam 1101. I would wish this were stopped then and there and not allowed to continue its wrong ways, even though only for a short period. The scheme of Mr. Robinson is anxiously awaited. It is hoped that the Government will not lose sight of the impending need of a resurvey of the land.

The Financial Secretary has sounded a note of warning against headlong expenditure in education. He shows that expenditure on education has risen steeply in recent times. Perhaps I am the first school master who has been returned by election to the Council on the

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non-official side. I can therefore hardly be expected to agree with the Financial Secretary while he casts doubt upon the wisdom of our expenditure on education, in however qualified a manner he might have expressed it. The money spent on education has borne fruit abundantly. The present awakening of Travancore, the disappearance of the dark days of the past, the dawn of a new era, the keenness and intelligence with which the son of the soil looks forward to the development of the resources of the country, the civic consciousness, the crumbling down of the walls of separation between man and man, between community and community—nay the very Council in which we all are—are the fruits of this educational policy. While we are complaining of the excessive expenditure on education, there are nearly 6,000 Vernacular School teachers paid a salary not worth a bag of rice. On this starvation allowance they have to cut a figure before the class, bring up a family (which is unfortunately in their case very populous) and discharge the noble and highly important function of educating the future citizens of the State. 4,600 of them are being paid Rs. 14 *mines* 7 chs. (I mean British Rupees, Sir) and a thousand of them have been stationed in places far away from the native villages where their pittance of pay can go less far than in their native places. Often school-masters and school-mistresses are united by God, but separated by the department. (*Laughter*). We must award them a living wage and transfer them to their native villages. If the latter is not possible in all cases, they may at least be kept in schools within a radius of 20 miles from their homes. When retrenchment is urged from this side of the House, efficiency has been the plea from the other side. But why the question of efficiency does not crop up in the case of these poor, low-paid, half-starved teachers is a mystery. Their condition is so pitiable and the problem so urgent that I would even urge that my official friends on the other side should forego a portion of their pay to put bread in their starving mouths. (*Laughter*). We must somehow find funds for this and I would go even to the extent of suggesting that the Government should take a less and less part in English secondary education, leaving it ultimately to Local Boards. Ultimately also Vernacular education might be made compulsory and organised so that it will prevent all overlapping and thus enable us to pay a larger salary to the Vernacular school teacher whose capacity and deserts are unquestioned.

This does not mean that our system of education is unimpeachable. For one thing, it has created unemployment. Literary culture is all very well. But it does not add to the earning capacity of the young man possessing it. Masters of Arts and Graduates in Law hang upon fortunate heads of departments who under providential dispensation have been created the dispensers of patronage for petty posts carrying Rs. 25 and Rs. 30. Our education has been far too literary. We must break the habit of looking to the Government for employment. We must develop a bread and butter ideal in education. We must multiply agricultural and industrial schools. The Land Colonisation Scheme, inaugurated in the last regime, if found practicable, should be worked for all it is worth.

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[Mr. K. Sivarama Panikkar.]

To conclude, I must call attention to the needs of my constituency (Shertallai) and they are mostly means of communication. If I invite my friends in this House to a tea-party to be given at Mararikulam 6 miles south of Shertallai and 7 miles north of Alleppey, the only way to get them there is to have them transported as so much goods on the shoulders of bearers. I feel thankful to Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai for calling the attention of the authorities in this matter in his speech the other day and to the Chief Engineer for providing grants for three new roads in the forthcoming budget. If the money is granted, I hope he will prosecute the work so energetically that no portion of the amount will lapse. We also want more cross canals; the difficulties the lack of these has caused may be gauged by the difference in the price of cocoa-nut husks in Shertallai and Quilon. In Quilon, raw husks fetch Rs. 18 per thousand, whereas in the interior of Shertallai they cost only Rs. 6, the remaining Rs. 12 being consumed in transport charges, because they have to be carried in loads on the head.

Now let me refer to another important matter. I have just now received a letter from an influential and respectable gentleman whose name possibly is not unfamiliar to the members of this Council, Mr. Parayil Tarakan. What he says is that the Antakara Azhi bar which is being closed and opened by the Public Works Department is not being done at the proper time every year. The contract is given only to such people as have no stake in the *kari* lands. He says that, as the bar was opened this year late in the month of Mithunam or so, the Kanni crop has been considerably damaged. It is generally opened in the month of Edavam. But what I wish to bring to the notice of Government is that the contract of work, relative to this bar and the bunds connected with it, should be given only to such people as have some stake in these *kari* lands. This gentleman, I am told, pays a kist of Rs. 2,000 for the *kari* fields that he has in this particular area. Therefore, I believe there is no harm in giving the contract to Mr. Tarakan himself. This is however, I must tell you, not a recommendation, but it is only for the safety of the people who have a few acres in these *kari* lands. Now, Shertallai is not a land which can afford to lose a crop. I, therefore, request you to see that in future this contract is given only to interested persons.

I hope that Government will take seriously the criticisms offered by the members of this Council and submitted to them year after year. If the officers of the Government look upon themselves not merely as dignitaries of the State but also as servants of the people, the welfare of the country can be greatly advanced. It is in this spirit that the criticisms on the budget are offered and I hope they will be taken in the same spirit.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha*): ആയ വ്യയ പത്രത്തിൽനിന്നും ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്റെ കോശസ്ഥിതി പ്രതിവത്സരം അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു കാണുന്നതു ഏറ്റവും സന്തോഷകരമ

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മായ ഒരവസ്ഥയാണ്. എന്നാൽ ആ വർദ്ധനകൊണ്ടു ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഐശ്വര്യവും അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതെന്നു ഗവർണ്മെൻറു വിചാരിക്കുന്നു എങ്കിൽ അതു വളരെ ആപൽക്കരമായിരിക്കും. അടുത്ത കാലങ്ങളിൽ ഓരോ പുതിയ നികുതി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയും പഴയ നികുതികളുടെ നിരക്കു വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചും ഉണ്ടാക്കീട്ടുള്ള മുതലെടുപ്പാണു കോശസ്ഥിതിയെ ഈവിധത്തിൽ പോഷിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഐശ്വര്യം ക്ഷയിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ രാജ്യവാസികളിൽ വലിയ പങ്കും കൃഷിക്കാരാണല്ലൊ. നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിൽ കടന്നു കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ തൊഴിൽ സമ്പ്രദായവും ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളും ശരിയായി അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം നാംക്കുനാം അവർ ഐശ്വര്യത്തിൽ ക്ഷയിച്ചുവരികയാണെന്നു ബോധപ്പെടും. കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങളും ജനസംഖ്യപോലെ വർദ്ധിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഓരോ സെൻസസ്സും ജനസംഖ്യ വർദ്ധിച്ചുവരുന്നതായി കാണിക്കുന്നു. ൧൯൦൦-നു മുമ്പു വീതം വർദ്ധന കഴിഞ്ഞ സെൻസസ്സിൽനിന്നും വെളിവായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങളുടെ വർദ്ധന (പ്രത്യേകം ഒരു കണക്കുകൊണ്ടു കാണാൻ വയ്യാഎങ്കിലും) അധികം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. തരിശുഭൂമികളും മിക്കവാറും പതിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. കൃഷിക്കാർ കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങൾക്കു പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ടു പോകയാണെങ്കിൽ അറബിക്കടൽ ആ യാത്രയെ തടുക്കും. കിഴക്കോട്ടു പോകയാണെങ്കിൽ റിസർവ്ബൌണ്ടറിയും തടുക്കുന്നു. നിലം പുരയിടങ്ങളുടെ വിസ്തീർണ്ണം റബ്ബർപോലെ വലിച്ചുനീട്ടാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. അതിനാൽ കൂടുതൽ വിളവു് ഉണ്ടാക്കാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു പ്രചാരത്തിൽ വരുത്തണം. അതിന് കൃഷിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാക്കു വേണ്ട സൌകര്യങ്ങളും സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യവും പണവും ഗവർണ്മെൻറു അനുവദിച്ചുകൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഫലം കേവലം ശൂന്യംതന്നെയാണ്. അനവധി ലക്ഷം രൂപാ ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ വ്യയംചെയ്തുകഴിഞ്ഞു. വളരെ കാലമായിട്ടും നൂതന കൃഷികളും ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനൊ പുതിയ കൃഷിസമ്പ്രദായങ്ങളും രാജ്യത്തിൽ പ്രചരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനൊ കൃഷിക്കു സംഭവിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന രോഗങ്ങൾക്കു നിവാരണമുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതിനൊ ഇതുവരെ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. മാതൃകാ കൃഷിതോട്ടങ്ങളും നഷ്ടകരമായ കൃഷികളുടെ മാതൃകയായിട്ടാണ് കാണുന്നതു്.

വ്യവസായത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഇനിയും ഒരു നൂറാണ്ടുകാലത്തേക്കു ഈ രാജ്യം കർഷകപ്രധാനമായ രാജ്യമായിട്ടല്ലാതെ വ്യവസായപ്രധാനമായ ഒരു രാജ്യമാകാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ധ

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[Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman.]

നപരിപോഷണകമ്മറിക്കാർ യാതൊരു ധനപരിപോഷണമാർഗ്ഗവും കണ്ടുപിടിച്ച രാജ്യത്തിൽ പ്രചരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ഐശ്വര്യവർദ്ധനക്കു മാർഗ്ഗം തുറക്കാതെ ഐശ്വര്യം ക്ഷയിച്ചുവരുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ നൂതനമായ നികുതി ഏർപ്പെടുത്തി അവരെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതു ഒരിക്കലും യുക്തമല്ല. ഇനിയും നികുതി വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തവണ്ണം ജനങ്ങൾ ഭാരപ്പെട്ടു കഴിഞ്ഞു. ലാൻഡ്‌റവന്യൂ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെന്റിൽ നിന്നും പുറം പോക്കു കേസെടുത്തു അനവധി പണം സാധു കൃഷിക്കാരെ ഞെക്കിപിഴിഞ്ഞു ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അന്യായനികുതിമുതലായ പുതിയ നികുതികളും രജിസ്ട്രേഷൻ ഫീസ്, മുദ്രപില മുതലായവയുടെഭാരക്കൂടുതലും കൊണ്ടു ജനങ്ങൾ വിഷമിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. പെണ്ടാരിക്കൽ സമ്പ്രദായം പുറംപോക്കാക്കുന്ന കടലാസിൽ എഴുതി വെച്ചതു നിമിത്തം ഓരോരുത്തരുടെയും കൈവശാനുഭവത്തിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്ന പുരയിടങ്ങളെ പുറംപോക്കായിചേർത്തു കേസെടുത്തു ശിക്ഷിക്കയാണ് ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഐശ്വര്യം വർദ്ധിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ കൃഷിസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾക്കു വർദ്ധനയുണ്ടാകണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കൃഷിസമ്പ്രദായം കൂടുതൽ വിളവുണ്ടാകത്തക്കനിലയിൽഉള്ള മാർഗ്ഗം കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു പ്രചരിപ്പിക്കണം. എന്നാൽ കൂടുതൽ വിളവുണ്ടാകത്തക്കവണ്ണമുള്ള കൃഷിസമ്പ്രദായം നടപ്പാക്കുവാൻ ഉടനെ സാധിക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. കൃഷിസ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കാൻ മാർഗ്ഗമുണ്ടു്. കായൽപരിച്ചു കൃഷിനടത്താൻ ധനവാന്മാർക്കു മാത്രമേ സാധിക്കയുള്ളൂ. രാജ്യത്തിൽമൂന്നിൽ ഒരു ഭാഗവും റിസർവായി ഇട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അമേരിക്കയിൽ യുണൈറ്റഡ് സ്റ്റേറ്റ്സിലും മറ്റും വളരെ ഭാഗങ്ങൾ റിസർവായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു പറയുന്നുണ്ടു്. അവിടത്തെ ജനവാസം ഒരു ചതുരശ്രമയിലിൽ രണ്ടു മാത്രമാണ്. ഇവിടെ 180 ഉണ്ടു്. കൊച്ചികഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഇൻഡ്യയിലുള്ള നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളിൽഅധികം ആളുകൾ തിങ്ങി കൂടിപാർക്കുന്നതായ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ മൂന്നിൽ ഒരു ഭാഗം ഇങ്ങനെ റിസർവായി ഇട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതു കഷ്ടാൽ കഷ്ടതരമാണ്. ഇവിടത്തെ റിസർവുകളിൽ പലയിടത്തും പണ്ടത്തെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുടേയും ഭവനങ്ങളുടേയും അവശിഷ്ടങ്ങൾ കാണാമെന്നുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടും മറ്റും പണ്ടു ജനങ്ങൾ അവിടെ ധാരാളം നിവസിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്നു എന്നു തെളിയുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഫസ്റ്റ് ലക്ഷം രൂപയാണു വനംവക വരവെന്നു ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതിൽ ര് ലക്ഷം രൂപാ രാജകീയവൃക്ഷങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നും വരുന്ന ആദായമാണ്. ഈ രാജകീയവൃക്ഷങ്ങൾ മിക്കവാറും ജനങ്ങളുടെ പതിവുപുരയിടങ്ങളിൽ ഉള്ളവയാണ്. വ ലക്ഷം രൂപായിൽനിന്നും

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ഈ രണ്ടു ഇനവും പുതുവൽ തടിവിലയും നീക്കിയാൽ വനങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും ഒരു ലക്ഷംരൂപാപോലും മുതലെടുപ്പു കാണുകയില്ല.

ഇവിടെയുള്ള ഒരു വലിയ വിഭാഗം ജനങ്ങൾ ഭ്രസ്വത്തില്ലാതെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ടു്. അവരിൽ പുലയർ, പറയർ മുതലായ അധഃകൃതവർഗ്ഗക്കാർ നല്ല കൃഷിക്കാരുമാണു്. റിസർവ്വിൽനിന്നും ഏതാനും ഭാഗം ഒഴിച്ചു ഭ്രസ്വത്തില്ലാത്തവർക്കു ആവശ്യംപോലെ കുറേശ്ശ പതിച്ചുകൊടുത്താൽ അവരുടെ ദാരിദ്ര്യത്തിനു നിവൃത്തിയുണ്ടാകും. കൃഷിവർദ്ധിക്കയും ചെയ്യും. വലിയ പർവ്വതമൊ അധിക വൃക്ഷങ്ങളുള്ള ഉന്നതതടങ്ങളൊ ഒഴിക്കേണ്ട. ജനവാസത്തിനു സമീപമുള്ളതായ പ്രദേശങ്ങൾ മാത്രം പതിച്ചുകൊടുത്താൽ മതി. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു റിസർവുകൾക്കു സാരമായ ദോഷങ്ങൾ ഒന്നും ഉണ്ടാകയില്ല. റിസർവുകളിൽ കൂടുതൽ ആദായം കിട്ടുന്നതിനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ കണ്ടുപിടിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇപ്പോൾ പതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നതു നഷ്ടമായിതീരുമെന്നു പറയുമായിരിക്കും. ഒരു കാലത്തു ഗുണം ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു ഇപ്പോൾ അവയെ തരിശാക്കിയിടുന്നതു വലിയ കഷ്ടമാണു്. ഒരു കുടുംബത്തിൽ ൪൦ വർഷത്തിനുശേഷം ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന വൈശ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി എല്ലാ അംഗങ്ങളും ഇപ്പോൾ പട്ടിണി കിടക്കുന്നതു വലിയ കഷ്ടമാണെല്ലൊ. അതിനാൽ ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള വനത്തിൽ നാലിൽ ഒരു ഭാഗമൊ അഞ്ചിൽ ഒരു ഭാഗമൊ റിസർവായിട്ടു ഇട്ടു ബാക്കി വരുന്നതിനെ ചില്ലറയായിട്ടു മേല്പെചെയ്തു പതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. ഒരു ദരിദ്രകുടുംബത്തിനു ഒരേക്കർ ഭ്രമിയും ഒരു വായ്ക്കത്തിയും മൺവെട്ടിയും ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഉപജീവനം കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടാം.

ഇനി സപ്ലൈ റയ്തുള്ളതു മെഡിക്കൽ വകുപ്പിനെപ്പറ്റിയാണു്. ഇപ്പോൾ മെഡിക്കൽ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകൊണ്ടു യാതൊരു ഗുണവുമില്ല. ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ അനേകം ആളുകൾ മലേറിയാപിടിപെട്ടു കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ടു്. ആശുപത്രികളിൽ ചെന്നാൽ ധനവാന്മാർക്കു മാത്രമേ ഗുണമുള്ളു. മറ്റുള്ളവർക്കും കൂപ്പിയിൽ നിറച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. (ചിരി) രോഗികളെ പോയി നോക്കുന്നതിനു ഡാക്ടർമാർക്കു നല്ല തുക കൊടുക്കണം. ഡാക്ടർമാർ രോഗികളെ ചെന്നു നോക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരു മയിലിനു എത്ര പണം കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു വിവരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ബോർഡ് വയ്ക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനോടു അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. പണം കൊടുക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെ വരുന്ന രോഗികൾക്കും ഡാക്ടർമാർ പോയി ചികിത്സിക്കുന്നതിനു നല്ലതുക കൊടുത്തേക്കുകയും. ആ സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ മലഓരങ്ങളാകയാൽ അവിടെ റോഡും ഇല്ല.

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[Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman.]

എങ്ങിനെ എങ്കിലും രോഗിയെ കെട്ടി എടുത്തു ആസ്പത്രിയിൽ കൊണ്ടു വരികയാണെങ്കിൽ അതുതന്നെ അപകടമായി തീർന്നേക്കാനും മതി. ഡാക്ടർക്കു എന്തു പടി കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു വിവരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ബോർഡ് ഉണ്ടാക്കിവക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ മുമ്പേതന്നെ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനോടു അറിയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇനിയെങ്കിലും അങ്ങനെ ചെയ്തില്ലെങ്കിൽ സാധുക്കളായ ജനങ്ങൾ വളരെ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നതിനു ഇടയായിതീരുന്നതാണ്. കൃഷിക്കുള്ള പാടങ്ങളോ ആഭരണങ്ങളോ പണയപ്പെടുത്തിയൊ വിറ്റൊ ആണ് സാധുക്കൾ ഡാക്ടർമാർക്കു പണം കൊടുക്കുന്നതു്. അങ്ങനെ കൊടുക്കുന്ന തുകയെല്ലാം പടിയിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളും. ചികിത്സക്കു വേറെ പണം കൊടുക്കണം. ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു ഈവകയ്ക്കു ധാരാളം പണം ചിലവു ചെയ്യുന്നുമുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ടു സാധുക്കൾക്കു ഗുണമില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതു വളരെ പരിതാപകരമായ ഒരവസ്ഥയാണ്. മറ്റു ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാർ പണം വാങ്ങുന്നതു കുറ്റകരമാണു; എന്നാൽ ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകാക്കു വാങ്ങാമെന്നു വച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതു എത്രമാത്രം എന്നു ഒന്നു ക്ലിപ്തപ്പെടുത്തുകയെങ്കിലും വേണം.

ഈ രാജ്യത്തു ഒരു വലിയ തുക ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ശമ്പളവും പടിയുമായിട്ടു ചിലവാകുന്നു. എന്നാൽഅതു ഒരു വലിയ വിഭാഗക്കാക്കു കിട്ടേണ്ട ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങളിൽ പണ്ടേ പ്രവേശിച്ചിരുന്നവർ അവരുടെ സജാതീയരെയാണു നിയമിക്കുന്നതു്. ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനവിഷയത്തിൽ ജനസംഖ്യയിൽ വമ്പിച്ച പല വർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾക്കും സങ്കടങ്ങളുണ്ടു്. അവക്കു പരിഹാരമുണ്ടാക്കണം. അധഃകൃതവർഗ്ഗക്കാരായ പുലയർ - പറയർ മുതലായവരിൽ സ്കൂൾഫൈനലൊമറ്റു പാസ്സായിട്ടുള്ളവക്കു ചില്ലറ ജോലി വല്ലതും കൊടുത്തു പ്രോത്സാഹിപ്പിക്കണം. വല്ലപ്യൂൺആയട്ടൊ ഗാർഡായിട്ടൊ കാൺസ്റ്റബിളായിട്ടൊ നിയമിച്ചാൽ മറ്റുള്ളവക്കും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു ഉത്സാഹം വരും. ഇന്നത്തെ എഡ്യൂക്കേഷൻ അവരെ തീരെ സഹായിക്കുന്നില്ല. അവക്കു കാളേജ്കൊണ്ടു പ്രയോജനമില്ല. ഹൈസ്കൂളുകളുമങ്ങിനെതന്നെ. എല്ലാറ്റിൻറെയും വാതിൽ തുറന്നുകിടന്നാലും ഒന്നിലും അവക്കു പ്രവേശിക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു സാമാന്യവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനായിട്ടു ഗവർമ്മെൻറു ചെയ്യുന്ന ചിലവു കുട്ടുകയും അധഃകൃതക്കു വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു കൂടുതൽ സൌജന്യങ്ങൾ വയ്ക്കയുംവേണം.

ഇനി പബ്ലിക്കുവർക്സിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചാണ് പറയാനുള്ളതു്. ആവകയ്ക്കു ധാരാളം പണം ചിലവാക്കേണ്ടതു മൂവാറ്റുപുഴ, തൊടുപുഴ മുതലായ ഉൾനാടുകളിലാണ്. ഈ താലൂക്കുകളിൽ ഇറിഗേഷൻ വകയ്ക്കു

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യാതൊരു തുകയും ചേത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഈവകക്കു ഒരു വലിയതുക ബഡ്ജറിൽ ചേത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതെല്ലാം തെക്കൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലേക്കും മദ്ധ്യ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലേക്കുമാണ്. റോഡുകൾ കൂടുതൽ ആവശ്യമുള്ളതു ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ ആണ്. കായലോരങ്ങളിലും മറ്റുമുള്ളവക്കു വലിയ ഭാരങ്ങളും മറ്റും വള്ളത്തിൽ കയറ്റി മുരുങ്ങിയ ക്രൂലിക്കു കൊണ്ടുപോകാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഉൾനാടുകളിൽ കാളവണ്ടി വഴിയേ കൊണ്ടുപോകാൻ സാധിക്കയുള്ളൂ. അതു സാമാനത്തിന്റെ വിലയെക്കാൾ ക്രൂലി അധികം കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നു.

കഴിഞ്ഞ സെൻസസ്സിൽ ജനസംഖ്യ വർദ്ധന നൂറിനു ആകെ ഫറ്റ-ൽ വീതമാണെന്നു സെൻസസ് റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ കാണുന്നു. കായലോരങ്ങളിൽ ഫ ൽ.വ-ം മദ്ധ്യഭാഗങ്ങളിൽ ഫ ൽ.വ-ം മലയോരങ്ങളിൽ ഫ ഫ.ൻ-ം ആയിട്ടു വർദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിൽനിന്നും ജനങ്ങൾ മലയോരങ്ങളിലേക്കു കുടിയേറിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നാണു തെളിയുന്നതു്. അതിനാൽ ഗതാഗതവിഷയമായി വന്നിട്ടുള്ള ചിലവുകൾചെയ്തു ഗതാഗതസൗകര്യം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതു മലയോടടുത്ത ഭാഗങ്ങളിലാണെന്നു കൂടി പ്രത്യേകം പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു നിർത്തുന്നു.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Sir, I shall make a few observations on the budget for the next year. The Financial Secretary has stated that he hopes that this House will consider the budget for the next year as a satisfactory one. Several members have expressed their differences of opinion in the matter. In considering whether the budget is a satisfactory one or not, it is necessary that we should go into the wider question of the State finance. We are not simply to be contented by seeing an apparent surplus of revenue over expenditure. We see that revenue and expenditure have been for the last few years increasing regularly and from this one may be led to think that the national wealth of the land is also increasing. But if we carefully analyse the situation, we understand that we have not got sufficient materials to express any such opinion in the matter. We have to consider the sources from which these revenues are derived and ask ourselves whether this increase of revenue has been in proportion to the increase in the national wealth of the land, and in relation to the increase of population, or whether it is derived only out of the already existing wealth. If we view the question in this way, we will find that the finances of the State are in a very unsatisfactory condition. I have to state that the policy followed by Government in regard to their finance has not been a far-sighted one. The Financial Secretary seems to think that the mere fact that the budget is a surplus budget is sufficient to convince the members of this House of the safe financial position of the State.

In viewing the sources of revenue in the land, we have to remember that Travancore is essentially an agricultural country. For the

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purpose of improving the system of agriculture in the land, a separate department has been established and a very highly-paid officer has been put in charge of that department. Every year a lot of money is also spent on this department. The question is whether the ordinary cultivator of the country-parts has in any way been benefited by this department. From my own personal experience of the taluk of Minachil and its neighbourhood, I can assure the Director of Agriculture that the average cultivator of those parts has not been much benefited by this department, notwithstanding all the expenditure incurred for the establishment and working of the department.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): May I know whether he is aware of the operations of the Agricultural Department carried on in the Quilon taluk with respect to cocoanut pests?

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): I may answer my friend by saying that I have not got much local knowledge about affairs in Quilon. But so far as North Travancore, especially the Minachil and Todupuzha taluks and places adjoining them are concerned, the cocoanut disease has been on the increase and nothing has practically been done to save the people from this pest. I would particularly draw the attention of the Director of Agriculture to the need for the agricultural improvement of the country and ask him to take as much interest as possible in the matter of widening the scope or improving the method of agriculture in the land. So far as our past experience goes, I can positively assure him that our parts have not been substantially benefited by the department. I do not know how many times he has visited those parts even. The average ryot in the country-parts has not yet, it seems, realised that there is such an institution as the Agricultural Department.

I now come to the Department of Public Works in connection with the progress of the national wealth. I say that the material advancement of the ordinary people of the State consists in opening up the country parts to the outside world by proper means of communication. So far as North Travancore and especially the taluks of Minachil and Todupuzha are concerned, I may say that the P. W. D. has been rather neglecting those parts. A good deal of money has been spent in towns and municipalities and perhaps in South Travancore also for means of communications and buildings. But, as I said, so far as North Travancore is concerned, the department has not shown proper consideration. The ordinary cultivator goes out to distant places and by hard labour he manages to get some produce and after having secured it he finds it very difficult to take it to places of marketing. In some cases it costs half the price of the article to take it to important centres like Alleppey and Cochin. Unless lands in the up-country are thrown open to the outside world by proper means of communication, I can see no salvation to those people who are really and sincerely working to earn an honest and independent means of livelihood in the inland.

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The next department by which the national wealth could be developed is the Department of Industries. To this department also some of my remarks concerning the Department of Agriculture equally apply. What I say is that it is not sufficient if the Director of Industries is to confine his activities to office room experiments or similar things. He has actually to study and understand local conditions and adjust his investigations and work to local conditions. Large factory system of industries may not be possible in the State at present but the existing industries could be developed by ever so many means. I hope the Director of Industries will devote himself to this aspect of the question and try to do something more for the people of North Travancore especially in this matter.

Another resource capable of vast development is our forests. Nearly one-third of the whole extent of the State, as my friend Mr. Kunjitomman has said, consists of forests. I support his opinion that so much of forest land is not necessary for the State. Of course, it may be said that forests do not exist simply for the sake of revenue. Even this argument does not affect the other aspect of the question whether by better management we shall not be able to get some income from our forests. From the budget we see that more than half the income realised from the forests is spent upon itself. In the case of removal of timber, more than half the price of the timber is taken up for the removal itself. This is the case in regard to some other items also. So, if the forests are managed better, there is more scope for increasing the forest revenue. If the Conservator finds that it is not possible, I think it is better that some portions of the reserves be opened up for cultivation to the people of the State. This suggestion is specially applicable to certain portions of the forests bordering on the taluk of Minachil. There are several places wherefrom we cannot expect any forest revenue as there are not many trees. If these portions are opened up for cultivation, they would bring in an appreciable amount of revenue.

I now come to another important and a much wider problem, *viz.*, the educational policy of the State. In regard to this, I may say that Government have not been following a far-sighted policy. The Financial Secretary's statement itself will show this fact clearly. He has made a candid admission that a headlong, impetuous career must be checked. At the same time, he admits that the education of the subjects of the State is of paramount importance to its well-being and progress, and that expenditure judiciously incurred on it will be repaid several fold in the increased prosperity of the people. It is an admitted fact that the education of the people of a State must in the long run be paying. In that way, I consider that any amount of expenditure incurred on proper lines in the Education Department is not a waste. We need not be sorry for it. But the point is whether the policy now pursued is proper or not. We have to resort to a judicious course of expenditure in this educational policy. Now-a-days complaints are heard from every quarter

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that the Vernacular School teachers are not being properly paid. Considering the importance of primary education to the people, it is necessary that these teachers should be better paid. As regards secondary and Collegiate education, Government may very well reduce their expenditure by entrusting such education to private and responsible bodies who may be given substantial grants-in-aid. Anyhow, this is a very important problem and the Government have at last realised the situation. It is gratifying to see that they are likely to adopt a better policy in the near future.

In connection with education, there is also the question of unemployment of the educated and the principles of appointment to the public service. Now, nearly 50 per cent. of the revenues of the State is being spent on public service, including salaries as well as travelling allowances. My opinion is that highly paid officers are necessary in the higher ranks, but at the same time they must be given more work. As Mr. A. K. Pillai has put it, now it is the question of unemployment among officers. If certain officers are not able to manage affairs of the department properly and to take a responsible view of their positions, why should they be paid unnecessarily? Now-a-days there is the practice of providing Personal Assistants in the case of some of these highly paid officers. For the sake of merely signing papers, it is not proper that the money of the taxpayer should be spent on these people.

Now, in considering the Industries, Agricultural and P. W. Departments, I have indicated that there is the possibility of increasing the national wealth and the Government ought to follow a farsighted policy in the matter.

Coming to other departments, I may say that the department of Ayurveda should be allotted more money in the light of the fact that the people of the country really find that the Ayurvedic system of treatment is better, more economical and better adapted to their needs.

As regards the Police Department, I have to make one observation, *viz.*, that it is pitiful to see that the expenditure on this department as well as on the Education Department are both increasing day by day. If the amount spent on education is increasing, we should really expect the expenditure on Police and on Administration of Justice to decrease. Otherwise, there is no use in spending such large sums on education. So, either the expenditure on education or the expenditure on the Police and on Administration of Justice has to be cut short.

In conclusion, I say, that the statements made by the Financial Secretary, as to the satisfactory nature of the budget cannot be considered as correct. He ought to suggest more permanent sources of income for the State. He must have shown that sort of expenditure which would ensure greater productivity from the resources of the country. Now the expenditure and revenue have somehow been made

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to balance each other, leaving a small surplus. I believe that, in future at least, the Financial Secretary will take a broader view of the question and suggest means which would ensure greater productivity of the national wealth of the country.

MR. R. PADMANABHAN (*Nominated*) : Sir, in making a few observations on the budget estimate for 1101 presented by the Financial Secretary, I would like to point out that there are two aspects in which it has to be viewed. The present budget is one prepared in accordance with the administrative policy pursued by our benign Government. Viewed in that light, one may be tempted to congratulate the member in charge of the finance inasmuch as he has presented a budget estimate which will leave a surplus of Rs. 3·79 lakhs at the close of the next year. One may, at the same time, be at least satisfied that the present one is not a deficit budget.

But there is also another aspect of the question. When we deduct the estimated sale proceeds of Government lands, namely, Rs. 4 lakhs from the receipts, the balance turns and the budget becomes a deficit one. The State becomes so much the poorer when it parts with a portion of its unregistered lands. The sale proceeds are now included under current revenue. What will the Government do when it ceases to possess any more unregistered lands ? As one member has already pointed out, the soundness of the principles of political economy which actuated the Financial Secretary to bring such sale proceeds under the category of land revenue for the purpose of preparing the budget, is questionable.

Out of the net total Excise revenue of Rs. 46 lakhs, the license fee and duty on country liquor, on toddy, and on country liquor and toddy combined, alone fetch a revenue of Rs. 23 lakhs. Where does this revenue come from? It is but the hard-earned money of the poor drunkard whose daily wages barely suffice to keep the wolf from the door. The vice of drink may be said to be the harbinger of all other vices. The number of crimes committed in a particular locality rises in accordance with the number of arrack and toddy shops situated in it. Drinking results in physical and mental derangements, and also gives rise to killing poverty and untold misery. The aim of our benign Government being the prosperity of its subjects, their present excise policy which brings just the opposite result must necessarily be changed. The principle of maximum revenue and minimum consumption often quoted in support of the pursuance of this policy is not at all sound. If the maximum duty levied checks the evil to any appreciable extent, that principle may be said to be a sound one. The unsoundness of the principle has been fully recognised by the United States of America and all other civilised nations. Whatever may have been the motives of the Government in pursuing such a suicidal policy, so long as they persist in the levy of maximum revenue and so long as they practically encourage increased consumption, they will find it absolutely impossible to solve the drink problem. So much so, the defect lies rather in the administrative policy of the Government than in the preparation of the

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budget, presented before this House, by the Finance Member so as to meet the requirements of that policy.

Another important subject, which demands our serious attention and requires prompt solution, is the educational problem of our State. The Financial Secretary complains of the disproportionate growth of the educational expenditure and points out that, within the last 16 years, it has increased by 528 per cent. And what is the result? Instances are not wanting of graduates accepting posts of *Chandrakaran* in the Devaswom Department and School Final Certificate holders being appointed as Anchal peons. What does this picture show? The evils of the present educational system, which, aims at the development of the cultural side alone, have long begun to manifest themselves. The sooner we do away with the present system the better will be the prospects of the future generation. It is an undoubted fact that the means we have to resort to, for the purpose of imparting education, should, as far as possible, be natural. When the means become unnatural, it is no wonder that time, energy and money are unnecessarily wasted. I do not beat about the bush. I say that a good deal of time, energy and money are wasted for acquiring knowledge through the medium of a foreign and difficult language. I am not for doing away with English education altogether. My suggestion is that, up to the School Final class, the medium of instruction ought to be the vernacular. Of course, the teaching of the English language should be made compulsory. Vocational training in respect of agriculture, industry and commerce should be freely given. By this means, sound and useful education can be imparted with less cost. We can practically save the expense of maintaining and controlling such big and costly institutions as the English schools. We must do away with the dual system of the Educational Department. It is the maintenance of this dual system that has led to the 'staggering' growth of our expenditure on education.

From what I have already said, I should not be taken to mean that I deny the necessity of maintaining our Arts and Science Colleges as well. I fully acknowledge the necessity of maintaining those institutions with all the necessary equipments and an efficient staff. But, in their case, I am quite against the tendency of the authorities concerned to squander the public funds for mere luxury and fastidiousness.

In the result, I would urge the necessity for a thorough overhauling of the whole educational system so as to make education useful and economical. I therefore request the Government to bestow their best consideration on the above topic, which is of vital importance to the future prosperity of the State.

Coming now to the Departments of Agriculture and Fisheries, and Industries, I would urge the necessity of doing everything possible to make these departments contribute at least as much revenue as is sufficient to meet the expenditure incurred for their maintenance. I know that these departments were not originally intended to fetch, at their initial stages, large sums as public revenue. I am not also unmindful of

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the fact that their functions are not strictly confined to making practical experiments and imparting agricultural and industrial education to the people at large. But I venture to say that that stage is now long past. Travancoreans have evidently every reason to be proud of the two able and eminent experts who are entrusted with the direction of the two promising departments. We do not expect them for ever, to be making experiments after experiments of doubtful utility. We are not satisfied with their miniature experimental and demonstration farms. What we expect of them is their heavy outturn of extensive practical works also, which should serve as objects of demonstration and at the same time bring such remuneration to the State as would at least make their departments self-supporting. In the present budget, the receipts from the Agricultural department alone are estimated at Rs. 15,000. This sum is insufficient to maintain the high officials of the Agricultural Department who consume nearly two lakhs of rupees. And the total receipts for Agriculture and Fisheries are estimated at Rs. 35,300. The expenditure to be incurred, for maintaining the experimental farms and manure depots alone, is estimated at Rs. 81,631. But the total expenditure for the Agricultural and Fisheries Department is nearly Rs. 2 lakhs. Still more discouraging is the State of the Industries Department. The receipts from that department are estimated at Rs. 17,100 and the expenditure at Rs. 1 3/4 lakhs From this, it is clear that we are spending nearly Rs. 3 1/4 lakhs for the maintenance of both these departments. This is a very heavy burden on the exchequer. This state of affairs should not be allowed to continue any longer.

The increased revenue from the department of Agriculture and Fisheries, as opposed to the increased revenue from the Excise Department, is a sure index of the development of the natural resources of the country and the material prosperity of the people. Whereas the increased excise revenue, which denotes comparatively the quantity of liquor consumed by a portion of the subjects, not only discloses the nature of the moral principles accepted by the Governing body for the purposes of administration, but also serves to exhibit the loose morals, misery and desolation of the unfortunate subjects.

I would, therefore, observe that, unless the Government take the necessary steps to adopt a new line of policy which would repair the aforesaid and similar other disorders in the governing machine, one fails to see how the present one may be called a really progressive administration.

MR. S. SUBRAHMANYA KARAYALAR (*Pattanapuram* cum *Shencottah*): Sir, though this session of the Legislative Council is generally known as the budget session, yet, as a business man, I am prepared to call it a business session, as the duty devolving upon the members of this Council is just like the duty of a business man, which is of a three-fold nature *viz.*, (i) to calculate what would be the probable income of the next year from all possible sources, (ii) what amount could safely be spent out of it, and (iii) what amount should be left as a surplus to meet unforeseen emergencies at a later stage in life.

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From the budget estimate of income for the year 1101, I am led to think of the golden maxim of Shakespeare, "All that glitters is not gold", for the estimate of income for the year 1101 is not a safe guide for budgetting permanent expenditure from year to year. There are various items of receipts which cannot be recurring, and, to rely upon them for perpetual expenditure would be a dangerous experiment to undertake. As examples of non-recurring revenue, I take the following from the budget estimate of income for the year 1101 :—

			Rs.
(1)	Sale proceeds of Government lands	...	4,00,000
(2)	Assessment imposed under the Land Conservancy Regulation	...	23,000
(3)	Receipts from markets	...	65,000
(4)	Process fees, fines and forfeitures	...	83,000
(5)	Recoveries from the sale of salt	...	2,30,000
(6)	Revenue derived from the sale of liquor, opium and ganja	...	26,93,500
(7)	Revenue from the sale of royal trees in private gardens	...	2,50,000
(8)	Interest on Excise revenue, (arrears)	...	26,000
(9)	Magisterial fines	...	56,000
(10)	Receipts under Motor Vehicles Regulation	....	7,000
(11)	Railway receipts	...	2,00,000
(12)	Unclaimed deposits	...	60,000
(13)	Various other items	....	1,00,000
	Grand total	...	41,93,500

So, out of a total revenue of Rs. 206 lakhs of rupees, budgetted for the year 1101, about one fifth is either non-recurring, like proceeds from the sale of Government lands or penal assessment, like recoveries from the sale of salt and magisterial fines, or from encouraging the immorality of the people by the sale of liquor, ganja and opium. I need not submit that the Government will not be in a position to sell lands at the rate of Rs. 4 lakhs per annum and that the penal assessment like the magisterial fines and penalties recovered from contractors are not to be reckoned as a source of revenue. For, in the words of Sir P. Rajagopalachariar,

> "Penal provisions are only weapons of threat in the hands of Government to be utilised only on rare occasions and not for the purpose of making any gain out of it, and the income derived from selling liquor, opium and ganja should be done away with as early as possible in the interest of the majority of the subjects of Her Highness the Maha Rani Regent."

In this connection it, will not be out of place, Sir, if I tell this House how deplorable the condition of Travancore is so far as the drink problem is concerned. I was a contractor myself in the Abkari for a quarter of a century from 1070 to 1095, and there is not a single taluk

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which I have not seen as an Abkari contractor. I have seen the neighbouring Tinnevelly, Madura and Trichinopoly districts, and it is a matter of great regret to submit that the people of Travancore are getting worse day by day in the use of liquor; and the increase in the consumption of liquor is entirely due to the situation of houses in separate compounds, thereby giving ample scope for malpractices and encouragement in drinking. In many northern taluks, parents administer liquor to young children, of 4 and 5 years old, as a medicinal drug, and it is for this House to judge what would be the fate of such children when they grow old; and, unless the Government interfere and stop the sale of liquor, it would be hoping against hope that any temperance movement would be of any use in making any radical remedy. The sale of arrack may be stopped first and that of toddy subsequently. I am at a loss to know why ganja and opium should be imported from British India and sold here. This could be stopped immediately.

I do not think that this House could congratulate itself that the Railway is giving to them a profit of Rs. 2 lakhs every year; for, the line between Shencotta and Punalur is very unsafe and we cannot be certain what damages are likely to be caused to the Railway line at any moment during heavy shower in both monsoons, and the amount which our Government will have to pay for restoration. Further, we have not forgotten that we paid about Rs. 18 lakhs, only two years ago, for the purchase of rolling stock and the same demand will be repeated at constant intervals, and the Travancore Government will be obliged to pay Rs. 2 lakhs and more on that score, on an average per annum. So, the receipts from Railway may be omitted, from the account, not being a permanent source of revenue.

The amount under recoveries from the sale of salt is a revenue derived from the unlawful imposition of tax upon the people, for it is only a super-tax upon them, over and above the duty which they are bound to pay legally; and so, this additional imposition of tax cannot be perpetuated and made a source of permanent revenue.

From what I have said above it is clear that the budgetting of Rs. 2 crores and above, as a permanent revenue, is only apparent and a show, and that one-fifth of the total revenue budgetted should be left out of account and the expenditure should be reduced by one-fifth in all items.

Sir, after all, this extra Rs. 40 lakhs, which we hope to earn, either by selling Sirkar lands or by the imposition of fines or at the cost of the moral character of the people in the matter of drink etc., can very well be earned without causing much inconvenience to the public. We can make some lakhs by a small imposition of export duty on rubber. Income tax will go higher if the officers are more vigilant. Land revenue will go higher if proper scrutiny is made in taluks where 30 years have already elapsed after the first settlement. Customs duty will show a solid increment if the subordinate officers of the Excise Department are more vigilant and if their work is properly checked

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by the higher authorities. A good deal of dry lands may be converted into wet lands and land revenue could be increased to a considerable extent if all our rivers are well utilised for irrigation purposes.

Sir, till we get a substantial source of income on the lines I have suggested above, it will be well to cut short the expenditure as far as possible and not to spend all that we earn, leaving no surplus, like some of our officers who spend all that they receive in the shape of salary forgetting that, when they retire, they will get only a half or a third of their salary, and that it would be absolutely impossible for them to cut short their expenses during their retired life.

Sir, now, let me say a few words about the improvements to be effected in Agriculture, salt, forests and education. With regard to agriculture, any amount of money spent by Government would only be well spent. God has blessed Travancore with many rivers and we have both the monsoons. If our river water is utilised wherever possible for wet cultivation, and if all available lands in Travancore are brought under wet cultivation, Travancore can never be deficient, so far as the supply of grains is concerned; and if only proper care is bestowed upon the improvement of the salt factories at Tamarakolam, Travancore need not go out for her supply of salt. For the supply of grains and salt, which are the vital necessaries of the people, the Government should not grudge to spend any amount till they see that Travancore is made self-supporting in grains and salt.

Sir, I will be failing in my duty as a loyal subject of His Highness the late Maha Raja if I do not convey to the members of this House the most kind expressions of His Highness whenever I used to pay my respects to that noble soul. His Highness very often observed, 'നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിന് വേണ്ട ഉപ്പും ധാന്യവും ഇവിടെതന്നെ ഉണ്ടാക്കണം.' These words of His Highness deserve to be written in letters of gold and hung in a conspicuous place of this hall to serve as a guide to the Government and to the Council, so that their best endeavours should be devoted to make the Royal expressions true in the near future.

Sir, the Colachel and Rajakamangalam Salt Factories are useless and they would not yield salt; for, these two factories have been spoiled by fresh water percolation and it would be a vain attempt to prevent it. The money already spent on these two factories is only spent in vain for the output of salt from these two factories for the last two years is practically nothing and the establishment is unnecessary. The two factories should be closed immediately and any idea of restoring the factories to their *status quo ante* would be like trying to restore the life of a dead man.

Sir, a word about the Tamarakolam Salt Factories. I am extremely sorry to submit that the Tamarakolam Salt Factories, many of which have come into existence only recently, are in danger of sharing the same fate as Rajakamangalam and Colachel Factories, if immediate care is not bestowed to divert the fresh water from contaminating the

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Salt Factories. Arrangements should be made to supply the factories with brine from the sea and the Pazhayar water should be diverted from flowing into the Manakudi lake, at least during the manufacturing seasons. Above all, the licensees, old and new, should be permitted, as an incentive, to sell all their salt on payment of duty exacting a little cess to cover establishment charges, as is done in British India. For, it is only just and proper that the Government should be satisfied with the duty and should not claim anything more, and leave the sale of salt to open competition among the licensees. In this connection, I should like to read the following passage from the Dewan's inspection note dated 6-9-1920 :—

"I find, however, that the most important matter to be attended to in regard to these salt pans is the evil effect the extension of Kodayar Irrigation too close to them has on them. We want to develop our salt pans and to make the production of salt in Travancore at least equal to the quantity consumed by the State, and the income derived by the State from the salt pans is roughly 100 times more than that derived from irrigation."

And the Government in their letter No. S. R. 1080/76 of 20, dated the 28th April, 1920, to the Ag. Excise Commissioner, have said that "the policy of Government should be restricted to the levy of duty and leave the transport and sale in the hands of private persons."

With regard to the revenue from the Forest Department, the only care that should be bestowed upon it is to recover all the revenue that could be obtained from year to year both from forest produce and the perishable periodical growth of the forest; and secondly, care should be taken to work out both dead and blown up trees so as not to allow them to deteriorate by exposure to sun and rain. With regard to other trees in the forest, no anxiety need be entertained to secure their value. They are like silver and gold bullion which can be converted into money at any time of necessity provided there is a market for it. It is unbusinesslike to cut our trees in the forest and stock them in various depôts when there is no demand for them. For want of demand, the timbers collected in the depôts deteriorate in course of time on account of exposure and finally we do not get even the working charges on several occasions; and so to avoid unnecessary loss, the department would do well to get indents from the merchants and supply them at fixed rate just as they do in the sale of boles. The forest is Government's private property and they should try and get the best price for their timbers on the lines suggested above.

Sir, I need not submit that Travancore is a poor country. The majority of the population are very very poor and their salvation depends upon the development of industry and business in Travancore. There is considerable scope for this development; but, for want of capital, the progress of industry and business is considerably arrested. If facilities could be afforded to work up all the raw materials obtainable in Travancore, people would find means of livelihood and the country would become richer, say within a quarter of a century. In the absence of good capitalists in Travancore, unless Government come forward and

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open a loan department of their own and lend all available sums in their hands at a moderate interest to business men for opening various industries, the people would never thrive.

I learn from the budget that the Government have invested more than Rs. 50 lakhs in Government of India bonds at 3 and 3½ per cent. interest and about Rs. 10 lakhs at 5 per cent. interest. The market value of the 3 and 3½ per cent. bonds is only about Rs. 55 and so the Government are losers to the extent of Rs. 25 lakhs, in respect of these bonds. If the Government had only lent this money to their countrymen, the country would have been several times richer by this time. If the Government are earnest about the welfare of the people and if they want the country to thrive in business and industry, they must be prepared to sell all these bonds and also to recover all the money on redeemable bonds and open a *loan department of their own* and lend money at a moderate rate of interest to their own countrymen. The money hidden in temples should also be made available for loans. The idea of starting a State-aided Bank would be of no use, for we have not got capitalists to invest money in the bank and, in my opinion it would be a failure. It must be a State Bank itself; and if there was already a bank, many of our officers, who, of late, burnt their fingers by investing their money with the local Hundi Merchants, would have been saved from the perilous situation.

At whatever cost to Government, people should be educated; but the sort of education now imparted in schools and colleges will not meet the demands of the people. If education is sought for its own sake, no anxiety need be entertained; and so long as we value education as a stepping stone to enter into Government service, I am afraid the people would be sadly disappointed and the problem of unemployment for our educated young men must necessarily be left unanswered.

The object of Government imparting education in schools and colleges is to culture the minds of people and they do not guarantee employment in the Government service. The problem of unemployment is to be solved by the people themselves. The Government want only a certain number of men to conduct Government work. The solution depends upon demand and supply like any other article in the market. Our demand for graduates for Government Service is less and the supply is over-abundant and hence the dulness of the market. If our educated young men want Government service, their learned parents and guardians are responsible for not securing them their desired object. They ought to have foreseen that the production would be more than the demand; and if the public want the Government to effect a solution for the unemployed, to cut the Gordian knot, the easy solution that I could suggest to the Government would be to refuse to employ them till they complete the thirtieth year. If that is done, necessity would make our young men to seek various sources of livelihood in other walks of life and they would not care to hang upon offi-

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cers and others for Government service which after all is only the last of the three sources of livelihood inculcated in our *Sastras*.

Sir, for want of time I am constrained to close my deliberations about the general budget.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Sir, may I make a suggestion? From the non-official side the Budget has been discussed to a considerable extent. If you are going to permit the other non-official members continuously to discuss the budget further, there is the chance of the official side being denied the right of reply. It is only fair that the officials should be given an opportunity of reply to the criticisms we have offered. I suggest therefore that, hereafter, the discussion may proceed promiscuously.

PRESIDENT: The non-official members may have their say before the officials come in. But if the non-officials stand aside and let the officials speak, it will be better.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): We have got only half an hour more.

PRESIDENT: Are the non-officials agreeable to have the officials speak now?

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): The officials should be afforded an opportunity to have their say on the criticisms we have offered.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I know whether the President has any objection to have the proceedings continued up to 5-30? It is only when the demands are discussed that we cannot continue the discussion after 5 P. M. It is not so in the case of general discussion.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): There have also been precedents with regard to this.

PRESIDENT: We cannot go on indefinitely. But I have no objection to extend the time up to six or a quarter past six.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): Sir, the budget for 1101 has been presented for consideration of the House. At first, the memorandum of speech by the Financial Secretary is somewhat interesting, but on closer perusal, it is disappointing. Behind the several figures I search in vain for anything tangible and dependable with which to study them. As between the different branches of the administration, money is distributed with no settled plan. There is absolutely no co-ordination between them. Each department stands by itself and seeks nourishment in the periodical increment of provision in the budget for expenditure. Even in the allied departments there is not only no correlation, but also is kept up a wanton persistency to keep themselves separate and aloof; and sometimes their action is mutually exclusive and conflicting. There is a spirit of rivalry reigning over them, at the expense of their utility and occasionally it is allowed to take shape as to become a positive hindrance and menace to the progress of the State.

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I know I am inviting condemnation and ridicule from the other side of the House. It is of no consequence. I stand unconvinced of their specious arguments engendered by a conscious or unconscious confusion of facts. Even the inside working of a branch of the administration has become the despair of an ordinary man in the street. There is a vast gulf in the mental outlook between the superior and subordinate branches. Discontent in the public service reigns supreme and as a result corruption has set in, and merrily goes on, with no prospect of being checked. Flagrant injustice of treatment breeds discontent in the service and the remedy sought is overmanning and top-heavy establishment. The remedy prescribed aggravates the malady. A love of ease and slothfulness, irresponsibility and positive menace to progress has resulted.

Gratuitous increase in the number of highly paid officers and enhancement of their fat salaries and curtailment in the number of low-paid servants had taken the place of reorganisation and the much vaunted retrenchment, accompanied by Tammanny Hall methods. The result is nepotism and jobbery, discontent and corruption and gradual degeneration in the moral and mental tone of the public service.

Sir, it is high time to cry halt. A relentless, ruthless retrenchment, particularly in the higher ranks, has become the dire necessity of the hour. The tax-payer has been bled white by all manner of direct and indirect taxation. His economic condition is at a very low ebb, and if not immediately attended to, God alone knows where it will lead to. Now Sir, a word about the justification and advocacy that may be offered for the inevitable nature, of the present condition. Efficiency, progressive administration, comparison with other Native States and British India, these, trotted out *ad nauseum*, in perfect self-complacency are the offensive and defensive weapons of my friends on the other side. I have no hesitation to assert that they are making a fetish of efficiency which, as argued by them, carries its own condemnation and negation. Efficiency does not consist in enhanced salaries coupled with a sense of false prestige and dignity. But, on the other hand, it constitutes an innate interest in the work and a passion to do service nourished by a sense of patriotism and humanity. I ask, Sir, can there be any patriotism in the service which has become the dumping ground of foreigners and the breeding place of communalism? Can there be any sense of humanity in the enjoyment of luxury consequent on high pay by the side of hunger, squalid distress and poverty, by the side of taxation, indirect and excessive, direct and grovelling? Talk of progressive administration! Is it, I ask Sir, the gradual depletion of the wealth of the country? Is it growing unemployment? Talk of comparison with British India, the most heavily manned and the most costly administration in the world by vested interest over the poorest country on earth. Other Native States? Yes. They are of the same kith and kin. I wish I may not be misunderstood. The fault is on the mentality of the administration. It has become proof against patriotism and sense of humanity. As my esteemed friend, Mr. A. K. Pillai, has put it, "the whole thing is moving

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in a vicious circle." Sir, it is the glory of one's life to attempt to stop this mad rush, this headlong and impetuous march, to the inevitable crash and doom.

Coming to the budget proper, it is refreshing and inviting to see in it, the symptom of a dawning sense of rectitude which has become alive to the danger of unmeaning, unintelligent, if not blind, imitation of the administration obtaining elsewhere. The Financial Secretary sees danger in the 'staggering growth' of expenditure on the system of education and recognises the necessity to check it. He sees the advantage in directing our industrial efforts towards the development and creation of cottage industries rather than in expending our energy and resources in factory-industries; he admits the laxity and want of control in certain departments, as noticed in his attempt to whip them up to vigilance in their work in order that the estimated revenue may be realised. The institution of a State-aided Bank is a welcome beginning and augurs well for the new administration. May I hope that it will seek to justfy its existence on one condition *viz.* that it will be run on the only and exclusive concern for the people of the State and subserve entirely their own interest; otherwise, it has got to go by the board. I am thankful to the Financial Secretary for allowing us a peep into the *sanctum sanctorum*, by lifting slightly the veil over the Cochin Harbour scheme, of the utility and potentiality of which he has given us a foretaste, in the ingenious manipulation of a tangible advance of Rs. 3 lakhs into a nullity.

Sir, the budget marks a distinction from the usual carry-on budgets, but without a difference. The distinction lies in the undercurrent of a desire to speak out, but a feeling of helplessness bred on time-honoured predilections, compels it to run in the same old groove.

There is still maintained the costly expenditure of 37 per cent. on salaries, without drastic retrenchment on the higher ranks, in spite of repeated demands from this side of the House. There is no settled policy of guidance for the coming year. I see no proposal to give relief to the general taxpayer. The inflated revenue system is still kept intact, nurtured and promoted by periodical importation of foreign Dewans who look up to preferments elsewhere.

The revenue item covers a multitude of sins under efficiency which I need hardly enumerate. The land revenue has an alarming L. R. M. Department which, I am glad to note, has only a few more months to live. The *Jamabandi* is only a make-believe and the recent method of collecting tax causes hardship to the taxpayer. The progress made in registering lands to depressed classes is not satisfactory.

The P. W. D. is a huge spending department and I do not grudge the expenditure thereon. But I cannot tolerate the huge joke played in its method. A respectable share of about 16 per cent. is consumed by establishment, both permanent and temporary, and a fair share in the construction of fantastic buildings. Levy of toll has become almost a mania with it and I will not be surprised if one day the department takes it into its head to levy a poll-tax for walking on the road. I say that they can

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ill afford to forget their duty, their unquestionable duty, their elementary duty, to maintain the high-way at the cost of the public fund. It is no commercial concern on piece-work basis. I am aware of the remark of a member from North Travancore that South Travancore is a pet of the P. W. D. I wonder, why even granting it, my friend forgets the amount of contribution borne by South Travancore to the treasury. I have no objection to Government spending money in North Travancore (*Hear, hear*). Approach roads to depressed class villages remain so far only a tall talk. Repair to flood damages is accepted by the Financial Secretary as a non-recurring item of expenditure. I do not know why this has been charged to maintenance of the K. P. Division disregarding the enunciation by Mr. Gordon of capital expenditure. Pre-project days too, had known flood damages. There is inexcusable confusion in the adjustment of accounts in reference to the Project and it requires looking into.

Sir, passing on to Education, it is common knowledge that our educational system requires thorough overhauling. Instead of drawing forth the best in man, and developing it to its full stature of manhood, it smothers the noble impulses of our young men, lets them at large to be a drag on society instead of being a creative force to regenerate and to resuscitate. The sentiment of freedom, the robust spirit of manhood are all sapped and they are turned out so many destitutes, wrecked physically and mentally, with no equipment to eke out an honourable living except the inevitable Government service. To this not a little the present school final and collegiate systems contribute. The discontented staff finds no inspiration in their profession and the consequent baneful influence is felt in their products, who, instead of evoking a sense of pride in them, excite our pity in their helplessness.

With reference to the Judicial Department, two points of criticism naturally arise. The one is as regards appointments and the other about administration of justice. As regards appointments, one is at a loss to know where to fix the responsibility. The man in the street does not know anything about the hand that guides these things. It would be something charitable if the Government were to enunciate or rather re-enunciate the policy or the want of it, that underlies these appointments. In the case of the appointments of Munsiffs, I am told that the High Court has set up the principle of giving it to certain communities on a seemingly communal basis in rotation. It is the Brahmin, the Nayar, the Christian, and miscellaneous, so much so, that certain communities have by now come to claim it as something of a birth-right. Why the Tamilians should be ranked with the Ezhavas in the miscellaneous group, giving pride and place to the Brahmins, along with the Christians and the Nayars, has not been justified hitherto. It is entirely unjustifiable. But anyhow the man who invented that programme deserves a place by the side of Ramayyan Dalava of traditional fame. If we are to gather the policy of the Government from appointments to the District Judge's places, it seems to be going by favour just like kissing.

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(*Laughter*). It is something unfortunate that the Honourable High Court, which is administering justice at the very risk of the heavens falling down, should have given occasion for any such complaint at all in its administrative side. I am not for recruitment from the Bar as it is understood at present. It is a case of giving a dog a bad name and hanging him. I am one with every body who is prepared to subscribe to the proposition that the very best men available, whether from the Bar or outside it, have to be carefully selected. It ought to be no disqualification that a suitable man happens to be a Tamilian; his claims should not be overlooked. Such things have been happening of late and certainly it is not to the credit of the High Court that such appointments have come to be made; if the classification I have above mentioned be in any way true and correct, it is about time that the classification is done away with. The earlier the better.

As regards administration of justice, things have become so hopelessly impossible of solution; so much so that even critics have given up criticising in despair. The complaint is universal that laws' delays have become more than proverbially long and partly the lawyers themselves are to blame. The profession has become so over-crowded that each lawyer wants to nurse the cases which he has in hand rather than allow it to be disposed of. It is a tug-of-war between the lawyer and the judge and invariably the lawyer scores in prolonging the matter. Under these circumstances, one would seriously think of placing some restrictions upon the rush of vakils. A very safe and perfectly harmless thing would be the abolition of the Law College. But two things stand in the way. The one is that, unlike any other educational institution in this State, it has been a handsomely paying affair and the other is that it has been the salvation of ever so many down and out vakils in Trivandrum. The next best thing that could be attempted is the abolition of the Pleadership Class. But these are solutions which may not be safely tried with a deficit budget. We have to see from which class of people, the complaint usually proceeds as regards delay in the administration of justice. We may generally classify them into the agriculturist and the commercial classes. So far as the agriculturist is concerned, he would complain if there is any hurry about ending speedily the litigation in which he is engaged. It is his pastime, usually the only intellectual vocation in which he indulges. Delay is not of the essence of his complaint. In the matter of the commercial classes, the complaint is real and worth investigation. Delay in commercial suits is very often disastrous to the commercial prosperity of the State. Very often the judge and lawyer alike are ignorant of commercial law and practice. So much so that a commercial suit takes as much time in its disposal as the proverbial Chancery suit. Therefore it lies upon the Government to discover fresh ways and means by which commercial suits can be disposed of more speedily than ordinary suits. A committee will have to be appointed to go into the matter. In other respects, the present method of asking for piecework from the judicial

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officers will only result in the present state of affairs where statistics are reckoned to be of greater importance than administration of substantial justice.

If there is one department which deserves abolition at the earliest possible moment, it is the Medical. By now it has almost become a truism that the ordinary taxpayer derives no benefit from it. It is mainly intended for the official and richer classes. There is still less reason now for the existence of the organised medical relief by the Government when several missionary associations have undertaken the work and are doing it in right earnest. The London Mission Hospital at Neyyur and the Salvation Army Hospital at Nagercoil are hospitals with a reputation second to none in Travancore. It is enough if contributions are liberally made by the Government towards private enterprise in these directions. That is the policy, I am told, which prevails in England. The present policy of Government is rather injurious to the medical profession itself. The present policy is mere subsidised incompetence. This is very amply illustrated by the two big Hospitals in Trivandrum. That a really capable medical practitioner can put to rout a First Class General Hospital like the one in Trivandrum is being demonstrated before our very eyes to-day. Lethargy is what it is with the Medical Department to-day. If only the Government would pursue a policy of permitting these medical men to stand on their own legs and fight it out with the rest, it will be good for them; for the Hospital they now hold charge of will be useful to the Government and the tax-payer alike. As regards the Women and Children's Hospital in Trivandrum, it may not be generally known that no male medical practitioner is permitted to enter its portals. If there is any justification for the existence of such an expensive institution in Trivandrum, it is because it might be of use to the whole State. Midwifery is a special subject with which every medical officer ought to be thoroughly conversant. If the experience which ought to be accessible to every medical officer in the State is denied by a capricious rule founded on mere whim, it practically amounts to letting loose on the *mofussil* people inexperienced medical officers. It is against all civilised practice to shut out the medical men from Maternity Hospitals. If the Trivandrum public wants a *Gosha* Hospital all to itself, there is the Municipality which can very well run it. And there could possibly be no objection to a separation of the *Gosha* Hospital from the Maternity Hospital. It is absolutely essential therefore that, as far as possible, every medical man in the department should have at least a six months' training in midwifery in the Maternity Hospital before he is sent out to the *mofussil*; otherwise put an end to that hospital which in no way benefits the taxpayer directly or indirectly.

Sir, to sum up, our finance, though progress it may have, has only a rake's progress. But for the windfall due to the doubling of salt duty, and selling of *puduval* lands which are of a non-recurring nature, our budget would have been a deficit budget for the last five years

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notwithstanding the imposition of taxes, both direct and indirect. To make our finances sound and stable, it requires a bold intervention and revision of the Interportal Trade Convention of 1865, a creature of the antedeluvian tradition, a zealous supervision of railway working and prompt revision of the railway contract on equitable terms, a fair share from rubber by imposing duty on its export, active encouragement and support of local salt industries, intelligent and scientific tapping of the wealth of our forests, adoption of a deliberate policy of local option leading shortly to ultimate prohibition, a thorough and radical overhauling of the system of education, jettisoning the obsession of a local University with a view to promote vocational and technological training, grant of increased facilities to agriculture, trade and cottage industries, particularly spinning and weaving; a merciless retrenchment in the cost of administration, and, above all, the grant of a fair and more real share and effective voice to the people in the governance of the country. These are the several directions pursuing which the present Government may seek for the reward of general contentment, peace and prosperity. Sir, I may conclude by reminding once more that good Government is no substitute for Government with the consent and, I may add, hearty co-operation of the governed, howsoever efficient and progressive the former may be. May I hope it would redound to the glory of the present Government on whose head it may be given to us to pronounce that a man with so much freshness in the tradition of land which is the seat of the mother of parliaments and which holds the sacred trust of making the world safe for democracy, came and returned leaving behind grateful men, ever cherishing in sacred memory the eventful reign of Her Gracious Highness the Maha Rani Regent?

MR. P. HABEEB MAHOMED (*Nominated*): Sir, I am glad to find that the view-points of Mr. George on the budget estimate have already been referred to in the eloquent speeches of many of my friends. The Financial Secretary's budget estimate this year contains so many economic, administrative and political fallacies that it would need much more than available time to all non-official members to explode them one after another or to expose the hollowness of them all. I shall confine myself therefore to one or two points only to-day. The Financial Secretary has taken much credit to himself for a surplus budget. As a student of history, I know that nations have become bankrupt before this, by adhering to a policy of surplus budget; starve necessary expenditure, and at the same time expand the administrative establishments and pile up taxes upon taxes and you can perform our Financial Secretary's feat any number of times.

The Financial Secretary has referred in picturesque language, which I trust none on this side of the House will imitate, the stupendous growth of expenditure on education and has told us that expansion has increased over five-fold. Let me present him with one additional bit of statistics. At the beginning of the glorious reign of His Highness the late Maha Raja, the noblest and the wisest ruler we have ever been privileged to have, the expenditure on education stood at Rs. 1 lakh. It

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has therefore now increased nearly forty-fold and Mr. George is at liberty to frighten people, by converting them into percentage. Mr. George's denunciation of the growth of the educational expansion is quite in keeping with some of the strange views which he has already once urged, in the educational retrenchment report for which, I am glad to say, his passion for retrenchment did not prevent his recieving a substantial honorarium. I thought however that he would not, on behalf a new administration, make such a startling disclosure of a mind unable to appreciate or to weigh at its worth, the value of education in national life. But for the wise and statesmanlike policy of His Highness the late Maha Raja, in spending so generously on education, it would not have been possible for Mr. George to have been here, or for the matter of that, none of us would have been here now. Autocracies exist on the firm foundation of national ignorance. A half-educated or imperfectly educated nation furnishes the oportunity for a bureacracy to perpetuate its rule. Education in all its stages is the very life of the democracy. A democratic Government presupposes an enlightened people. I do not at all mean to be disrespectful when I say that, when the Financial Secretary speaks with the passion of the need to stop further expenditure on education, he reminds me of a fictitious character celebrated by Sydney Smith, namely Mrs. Partington, who attempted to push back the Atlantic Ocean. But the contest was unequal as could be easily seen. Now Mr. George wants to keep the educational expansion stationary. How is he going to effect it, is the question. Can the magic which he weaves into his figures cause the population not to multiply? Can the Financial Secretary ask the number of persons seeking education to remain stationary? Will an order be issued by Mr. Stephenson prohibiting further admission in schools? Will the opening of new schools be prohibited? Will it become as much a crime for school managers to ask for more grants as for Oliver Twist to ask for more bread? Will the new Law Member soon introduce a Bill to penalise the opening of new schools, and the raising of the standard of educational institutions? Will it be hereafter an offence for the underpaid elementary school teachers, whose sorrows have been referred to by my friend Mr. A. K. Pillai, to ask for better pay?

I trust the Financial Secretary will give some replies to these questions. Expenditure on education must advance, with the growth of the population. It will be easier to be staggered by contemplating its growth if one forgets the bearing of increase of population, of increased desire for education, of increased opportunities for education, and of the increased resources of the State to bear the aggregate expenditure on education. At this stage, I may be permitted to submit a piece of statistical information. The Government of the United States of America spends 50 per cent. of its income on education while our Government spends only less than a fifth of our revenue and most of the progressive countries of the world spend a larger share of their annual income on education than our State does.

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MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): May I ask the member from where he got the information regarding the United States of America?

MR. P. HABEEB MAHOMED (*Nominated*): I shall refer him to the book.

When we want to pat ourselves on the back, we refer with pride to our education. When we want a high appointment for our community, we modestly point to the front rank it occupies in education in the State. But having got into the inner ring, let us by all means keep out others. Educated communities, such as Brahmins, Christians and Nayars, which have already received education, can afford to call halt. But what about the prospects of communities which are yet backward in education, like mine? Will educational fitness hereafter be no necessary qualification to public employment or to remunerative profession? Will appointments be hereafter, as in ancient Athens, by lot, and the chances of preferment equally open to the educated and the uneducated? Sir, I feel too sad to pursuse this line of criticism. It is notorious, as the printed discussions of this body will show, that complaints are rife of the understaffing of schools, of the want of furniture, of the school-master not being paid a living wage, and of discontent being rife all through the educational rank and file, owing to bad pay, and worse prospects; complaints are rife too, Sir, that opportunity for education is not afforded to all our boys and girls. Compulsion is suggested; but who is to pay? Not the Government, I am sure, if it stands by Mr. George's pronouncements. Hundreds of boys and girls used to be driven to Madras, Trichy and Madura, by the unwillingness of our Colleges to admit them or by the insufficiency of accommodation in them. We recently divided one college into two, and doubled the accommodation in each, and yet within a few months of this division all the space in the colleges have already been taken up by our own students, while more of them are still outside; how will you provide them when they come next year, or year after the next? How many parents or *tarwads* are there, that can afford to send their children to Madras or Trichy because the Government will not provide for higher education within the State?

There is, Sir, however one little silver lining in the cloud. The Financial Secretary's heart has been softened in one small direction in regard to education. He can steel his heart against the cry of the starved primary school teachers, against the clamour of school authorities asking for more teachers, more furniture and buildings. But he can relent, as he has relented, when the demand is for more peons and more clerks, for the office of a brother officer. Let us be grateful for small mercies if we are not to have larger things to be grateful for. If all the rest of the Department of Education is to be unprogressive, the Director's establishment at least will progress this year. There will be two more highly paid clerks, two more on ordinary pay and one typist and four more peons to the dozen already engaged, I presume, in educational spadework. It is not only the Director of Public Instruction

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who is treated handsomely in this respect. If the Council is as soft-hearted as Mr. George, another Departmental head will have a manager also. Sir, when I got over the first blush of astonishment at hearing Mr. George's speech, I wondered whether there might be some other sub-conscious reason for this out-burst of Secretariat candour, particularly where similar frankness seems to be beyond expectation in response to interpellations. Could it possibly be that attention was prominently drawn to one Department so that the non-official fire may be concentrated on that point alone and the rest of the Governmental fabric may escape? This suspicion which is probably quite unwarranted attracted me to some little study of the budget estimate. My own impression is that where retrenchment is most called for is in the permanent establishments of administration, both in the central administration and administration of departments. The growth of expenditure under these heads is much more alarming than the educational expenditure. Let us take the Account Office itself. You all know well that, about 20 years ago, the whole of the Account Department was run by a single individual with the help of an Assistant alone. Now Mr. George has got seven Assistants, several Superintendents, a small regiment of clerks, and a miniature army of peons. But in those old days, we did not hear of sensational defalcations, in reference to which the Account Officer would come forward and confess the impossibility of preventing them. Is all this machinery of Assistants, Superintendents, clerks and peons, absolutely necessary? Can every increase in the higher and lower rungs, and establishments, resulting in tremendous increase of the aggregate expenditure on the administrative machinery, be justified? Twenty-five years ago it took a Peishkar sometimes four full days to get at the end of his jurisdiction. You, Sir, would be able, to-day to cover the whole of Travancore, from North Parur to the Cape within 12 hours. In olden days, the Dewan Peishkar was responsible for many kinds of work, of which he has been divested by other departments, and yet has there been any reduction in the number of Peishkars? Why have so many Assistants been given to them? And why above all, should there be the highly paid Land Revenue and Income Tax Commissioner? Then again on what principle is the menial establishment in any office fixed? A Member of the Executive Council in British India has no more than five peons; a Secretary to a Provincial Government has only three. The Governor of a big province, like Madras, has, I am told, not more than two dozens. It would help us very much if Mr. George printed and circulated small booklets, to show how the peons are distributed between Officers and Offices, with a statement side by side of similar provision in British India. Small armies of peons in Huzur Cutcherry and Account Office would perhaps appear less unreasonable when the analysis suggested is published. At present they appear, to a layman like me, to be extravagant.

What we want is a public retrenchment committee, presided over by an officer from British India, and composed of non-officials alone.

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That Committee should go into the entire question of the necessity for particular officers and appointments and of the possibility for diminishing administrative charges by the abolition of sinecures, substitution of honour for honorarium in such appointments as Secretaryship of Committees, the substitution of indigenous for imported agencies, the reduction of the manufacture of red-tape by promoting decentralisation and increasing devolution of powers, and the amalgamation of different offices. Nothing can be truer than the passage from Gladstone cited by my learned friend Mr. G. Raman Menon, that *nothing can be too small to retrench*. The pruning shears supplied by this committee may be usefully employed whether it results in the reduction of a Peishkar or a peon. The appointment of such a committee is most urgent. This Council will not be satisfied, I venture to think, till the final word on the allotment of expenditure, and on the adequacy of administrative and controlling agencies lies with the representatives of the people directly and not with the bureacracy.

Lastly, Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I do not publicly give expression of an apprehension growing in the minds of the people. It is feared that, while all over British India, the services are being Indianised, in the Native States the process seems to be reversed. Either new appointments are created for influentially recommended outsiders, or existing appointments filled by men brought from outside. We fervently trust, Sir, that, in your regime, there will be no occasion for such a reproach being brought against you, and that, under you, Travancore will feel that the progress of the State would be of such a character as to ensure substantial administrative *swaraj* to the people.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): Sir, the Financial Secretary concluded his speech by saying that this House will regard the budget as a satisfactory one. But a careful examination of the Budget shows that our present financial condition is not very sound. It is true that, according to the estimated figures, there may be a surplus at the end of the coming year. But how this surplus has been arrived at is the point to be considered.

The estimate for the coming year gives a balance of Rs. 3·79 lakhs. This result was obtained by adding the temporary and unwholesome revenue from the Excise. It is admitted by the Government that their policy is to check the drink evil completely. If this policy had been carried out in practice this year, the revenue under Abkari, which will be Rs. 23·17 lakhs, would have disappeared and the Budget would have been a deficit one by about Rs. 20 lakhs.

Another source of income, included in the estimate, is from the sale of Government lands. The total estimate under this head is Rs. 4 lakhs. Since the supply of Government lands is very limited, the revenue under this head also will vanish in the near feature. Besides, if the tightness of the money market continues, it is very doubtful whether the estimated revenue will be realised in the next year.

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If the Financial Secretary had grouped the stable sources of income on the one hand and the recurring items of expenditure, on the other, the Budget would have been a deficit one.

Now taking the Budget as it is, it will be interesting to note how this surplus was arrived at. The total estimate of revenue for the coming year is Rs. 206·181 lakhs and the allotment for the Public Works Department is Rs. 26·30 lakhs, that is roughly 1/8 of the total income. Some of my friends have already alluded to the figures of the previous years and rightly insisted that, as the revenue increases, the expenditure on public works should be increased at least proportionately. But the Government do not give sufficient consideration to this at the time of the preparation of the Budget, because they want to present a balanced budget and for that they take full liberty to arrange the figures for this department. In the year 1090, when the total revenue was only Rs. 149 lakhs, the Government spent Rs. 38·5 lakhs for this department. From this it could be seen that the present policy of the Government is to cut down the allotment for public works in order to present a balanced budget. This method of balancing will not give sufficient progress to this important public necessity.

With regard to public works, the policy adopted by the Government till 1099 had been to spend the lion's share in South Travancore. On account of repeated representations in the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly and in this House, by the members of North Travancore, the Government seem to have changed their attitude to a certain extent. In the *Administration Report* of 1099, the Government State, "that it is worthy of mention that communications in North Travancore, where their need has been urged on the attention of the Government, received the special attention of the Government." Out of the total expenditure of Rs. 26·96 lakhs in 1099, the Government remark that the construction of new roads and conversions of existing village roads into cart roads absorbed a sum of Rs. 1·75 lakhs, out of which nearly Rs. 1 lakh was in the Alwaye and Kottayam Divisions. Of this, about half the amount was spent for the construction of roads at Devicolam. I need hardly say that the people, who were expecting a legitimate share, were sadly disappointed. In this year, the amount allotted for new roads was Rs. 1·47 lakhs and the amount sanctioned for Alwaye and Kottayam Divisions was only Rs. 38,300. For the coming year, the allotment for new roads is only Rs. 1·22 lakhs and the amount allotted for Alwaye and Kottayam Divisions is only Rs. 41,900. Considering the area, the population and the revenue on the one hand, and the neglected condition for the past so many years on the other, it is only reasonable to suggest that at least two-thirds of the total allotment for new roads should be earmarked for North Travancore, till that portion of the country stands on an equal footing with the other.

Though the Government allot amounts for the maintenance and repair of public works, in the majority of cases, especially in North Travancore, the general practice of the department is to postpone these

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works to the last quarter of the year. This causes much waste; because the usual flood will carry away the works. The general practice in the department should be to complete these works before the last quarter and then the Government could save a fair share of the recurring expenditure under this head.

The condition of protective irrigation works in North Travancore is far worse. With regard to this item also, the Government are not giving sufficient attention to North Travancore. The members of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly from Vaikam were constantly bringing before the attention of the Government the absolute necessity of having some drainage canals there. Even in this House, the member for Vaikam reiterated the same demand. The total area under paddy cultivation in this taluk, will be about 27,000 acres. The necessary drainage canals will not cost the Government much. Even then the Government did not give any heed to the legitimate demands of the people till last year. In this year, an amount of Rs. 2,000 was sanctioned and for the coming year another Rs. 2,000 is allotted for this purpose. Taking the absolute necessity and the long-neglected condition into consideration, it could be seen that this amount is too small and insufficient to meet the demand. Another great impediment for paddy cultivation in Vaikam is the Valliyanapuzha bund. This bund is obstructing the natural flow of the water of the Muvattupuzha river and is causing much damage to the cultivation every year. In spite of repeated petitions, memorials and deputations for the last quarter of a century, the Government have done nothing in the matter.

Agriculture is a very important factor in our country and so it ought to be one of the chief issues at the present time. But, unfortunately, very little heed is paid to organise it or to improve the present condition. The present day farmer is suffering much on account of his economic handicap. Division of lands into small bits for cultivation on account of various reasons is economically unsound. In this method of cultivation, there will be much waste of capital enterprise and labour. If agriculture is organised on a scientific basis, it will to a certain extent solve the problem of unemployment. Instead of leaving the disorganised and helpless ryots to their own fate as is done at present, the Government should go to their rescue and help them to organise and should make sufficient provision for this purpose and for giving agricultural loans.

In the *Administration Report* of 1099 of the Department of Agriculture, it is stated that the results of the various experiments and demonstrations conducted by the department, during the past few years, have proved that the out-turn from land can be increased considerably by the introduction of improved varieties of seeds, by proper tillage, by scientific manuring and by the adoption of improved cultural methods. But it will be interesting to know whether on account of these activities of the department the out-turn from land in the country *has* improved. If it has not increased, as could be seen from the volume of imports of paddy and rice every year, in spite of the demonstration farms, etc., it

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may be due to the want of propaganda work, or to the want of confidence on the part of the ryots to accept the proposals or to the want of necessary funds to purchase the machinery, tools and seeds. In any event, it is necessary to improve the present situation.

The national wealth of this country depends, to a great extent, on the products of the cocoanut palm. Recently an infectious disease has begun to attack the trees. This disease is rapidly spreading in North Travancore especially at Vaikam and Shertallai. To a layman, it seems that this disease may cause the ruin of the trees in the near future, if the remedy for it is the only one suggested by the department. The revenue to the State from the products of this tree per year, including the duties on its products and the land revenue from garden lands, which are mostly covered by these trees, will be above Rs. 43 lakhs. If the trees are allowed to go to ruin, the financial condition of the State itself, not to speak of the people, will be in a precarious condition. So it is the duty of the Government to get down some specific remedy even at a prohibitive cost.

If the condition of agriculture is improved, it will be a great help to the unemployed. The problem of unemployment in this country is growing in volume and acuteness year after year. The chief cause of the present unemployment is the result of the system of education imparted to the young men. It is the duty of the Government, who keep the moral and material prosperity of the people in the forefront, to change the present system of education. The education imparted should be useful to the people and to the country. The public service is already overcrowded; and if the present system is continued, it is dreadful to think of the future of the unemployed. Therefore technical studies which will be useful in after-life should be introduced in all schools and the spirit of dignity of labour should be infused into the minds of the youths.

About the "staggering' growth of our expenditure on education and the necessity to check the headlong and impetuous career referred to by the Financial Secretary, the solution suggested by some members that the lower secondary department of the English schools should be transferred to Vernacular schools, and the primary and secondary schools managed by the State should be handed over as far as possible to private agencies which are capable of managing the institutions in an efficient manner should be accepted. The pruning knife should be applied only to the staff and salaries in the college department. If qualified and capable teachers are available in the school department of the State, recruitment to the posts of Tutors and Assistant Professors should invariably be from among them instead of from outside. This will be a great gain to the Government. In this connection, I may refer to the pay of the teachers of the Vernacular schools. To increase their pay, on account of their number, is a real problem to the Government. In other departments also though the pay is very low among the subordinates, they will manage to make both ends meet. As far as these teachers are concerned, there is absolutely no room for any corruption.

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In this country there is a loud complaint that there is much corruption especially in the lower ranks of the public service. The insufficient pay of the subordinates and the want of strict check by the superiors on the one hand and the policy of the Government not to give exemplary punishments to the corrupt officers on the other are the chief causes of corruption. We hope, Sir, that Government will put a stop to it in an effective manner.

Though a very big amount is being allotted for travelling allowance of the officers every year, the people do not get sufficient benefits out of it. Many of the responsible officers, while on circuit, do not care to know the real wants of the people. The officers do not think that they are working for the people. A spirit of mutual respect and understanding should be infused into the minds of many of these officers.

MR. J. STEPHENSON (*Director of Public Instruction*): Sir, I have had a great deal of experience as a teacher, and I am very doubtful whether this particular class—if I may say so for the time being—has not been this day rather overburdened with lectures. There comes a time when the receptivity of the class becomes rather dull. I do not propose to speak at any length for, firstly, I have very little to say and secondly, I believe there are other speakers to follow me.

As has been emphasized by the Financial Secretary, a considerable portion of the revenues of the State is spent on education and it is therefore only in the fitness of things that a large portion of this discussion should have related to educational matters.

With the time at my disposal, it may not be possible for me to deal with many of the matters that have been brought forward. At this stage therefore, I propose to confine myself to one or two general questions, leaving aside matters of detail which will no doubt be brought forward when the grant for education is moved.

The question of the expenditure on education was raised at the very outset in the speech of the Financial Secretary and it has been commented upon by more than one speaker amongst the non-official members. With regard to expenditure, the mere statement of the facts of the situation indicates the magnitude of the problem which has to be solved.

The gross expenditure on education including such expenditure as was incurred by the Department of Public Works on educational buildings, by the Public Library and the Department for the Preservation of Oriental Literature works out for 1099 at chs. 26 and cash 14 per annum per head of the population. That cannot be considered a large amount. On the other hand, the proportion of the total expenditure, which is spent by the State on education, namely about 20 per cent., is undoubtedly large.

In addition to what is spent by the State on education, there is, of course, the expenditure which is incurred by private bodies, apart from the grants which they receive from the Department of Education. It is also a fact that the cost to Government of education imparted by private agencies is much less per head than the cost per head of the education imparted in departmental institutions.

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[Mr. J. Stephenson.]

It has therefore been suggested by more than one speaker that the expenditure on education can be reduced by transferring more schools to private management. Viewed from the standpoint of finance merely, there is no doubt that that would appear as a satisfactory solution. But before accepting it, it is necessary to look a little more closely into the implications that are involved. Education under private agencies costs less, because private agencies construct and maintain their own buildings and because the grants which are allowed by the department in aid of the teachers in these schools is less than the pay of the teachers in the departmental schools. There is also reason to believe that the pay in many private schools is simply the Government grant-in-aid which is very much less than what the teachers receive in departmental schools.

It has also been represented in this Council on more than one occasion, and certainly during this discussion, that the pay of the departmental teachers is very low and should be increased. It has also been urged that the grant-in-aid should be increased. The same argument is suggested in some of the questions which have been received from the non-official members. One of them has gone even so far as to suggest that the pay of the teachers in private schools should be raised so as to be equal to the pay of the teachers in departmental schools and that the teachers should receive pensions.

If any savings are to be effected by transferring departmental schools to private management, it is clear that, with the present policy of private school managers, conditioned no doubt very largely by their financial resources, the saving can only be effected at the expense of the well-being of the teachers. If, with the transference of the schools to private management, the grants-in-aid are also to be substantially increased, the savings resulting from this procedure will not be considerable.

The next large question raised in discussion is that of the nature of the instruction imparted in the schools. It has been described in different ways by different members. Mr. M. N. Pillai said it was time to revise the whole system of education. Mr. A. K. Pillai characterised the present education or part of it—I did not hear him distinctly—as useless. Mr. K. K. Thomas referred to it as an artificial system and Mr. T. J. Mathew described the system as fundamentally defective. There will not be time for me to deal with this matter at all fully. I may perhaps be allowed to quote a few figures which will enable us to see the matter in some sort of proportion.

Of the pupils and students under instruction in recognised institutions in 1099,

2,384 were in colleges;
43,049 were in English Schools; and
4,06,929 were in Vernacular Schools.

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The net expenditure on Colleges was less than Rs. 2 lakhs, on English Schools Rs. 2·8 lakhs and on Vernacular Schools Rs. 19·9 lakhs.

There may be differences of opinion as to whether the expenditure on these institutions is in proportion to their value to the State, but I do not propose to discuss that matter at present. My object in quoting the figures is to show that the bulk of the expenditure is on Vernacular Schools, just as it is in these schools that the bulk of the pupils are educated.

In discussing the kind of education imparted in the State, the matter is too often considered with regard to the English Schools and Colleges, and with regard to these rather too much from the point of view of after employment or unemployment.

Education in these institutions is of a general and cultural nature, and it does not seem to me at all wrong that amongst a population of 40 lakhs a little over 2,300 in colleges and 43,000 in English Schools should be receiving education of a general and cultural nature to the standard given in these institutions. That the persons so educated have a difficulty in finding employment afterwards is a very serious matter, but this problem is not one which can be solved by the Education Department alone. They can no doubt lend a helping hand, but they cannot take the initiative in solving that problem.

The question of vocational education and combining vocational education with general education in itself is a very difficult problem indeed. It is a much more difficult problem in Travancore where the possible vocations are sadly limited.

To go on, as I have already stated, the bulk of the education in the State is given in vernacular schools—primary, middle and high schools; and in these schools 92·8 per cent. are in the primary classes, 7·07 per cent. in the middle school classes and 0·13 per cent. in the higher classes.

If we take the total number of pupils and students under instruction in the State, including colleges and schools, about 83 per cent. are in the primary classes, *i. e.*, in the lowest four classes of the vernacular schools.

It is on this kind of education that the money disbursed by the Education Department is largely spent; and whatever one's ideas may be on the relative values of general and vocational education, there can be no question that a general education of the kind imparted in the primary schools up to the standard of the fourth class in such schools is necessary for whatever walk in life the pupils are destined.

The teaching in these schools can no doubt be vastly improved but that can only be done gradually by the aid of the Training School staff and the inspectoral staffs.

With regard to the other points raised in the course of the discussion, I shall deal with them, as far as I am able, while speaking on the motions with regard to the educational demand.

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[Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai.]

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): Sir, several members have touched on the subject of agricultural improvement in the course of the general discussion of the budget. Some of my friends on the other side have laid stress on the need for paying more attention to the production of foodstuffs in the country. I fully agree with their views. Government are not unmindful of the fact that all possible efforts should be made to increase the production of food-stuffs and particularly paddy in this country. Government, in pursuance of this policy, have been disafforesting lands in the reserved forests and throwing them open for paddy cultivation. They have been registering all possible lands which can be brought under paddy cultivation and have been devoting increasing funds and attention to the development of irrigation which, it goes without saying, is absolutely essential for increasing paddy production in the country. But, Sir, there is a limit to which we can go in these respects. My friends on the other side who were members of the last Council will remember the arguments which I brought forward on more than one occasion in connection with this very same question. The population is increasing, requirements of the people are increasing and the resources at our disposal are limited. We have at present something like 6,90,000 acres of land under paddy cultivation and our population is about 45 lakhs, so that the extent of wet lands per head of population is roughly about 14 cents.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): May I know how the Director got at the figure 45 lakhs?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I beg your pardon, Sir. It is only 40 lakhs. We can more or less imagine that, even if we develop intensive cultivation to the utmost possibility, it is not possible for the people to get all their food requirements from that small extent of 14 cents of land.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): May I know from the Director the amount of paddy realised in a year from the total acreage under paddy cultivation?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I cannot give the exact figures; but I made a rough calculation a couple of years ago, and found that we are producing in Travancore something like 3,94,000 tons of paddy, and are importing from Burma and other countries something like 1,50,000 tons of paddy.

MR. CHANGANACHERY K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Quilon*): Can the Director of Agriculture and Fisheries give us an idea in *paras* or at any rate tell us what will be the yield for these 14 cents in *paras*?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): The average yield is about seven or eight fold. If it is a fairly good crop, it will be about ten-fold. But since there is good as well as bad land, I take the average at about seven or eight fold in *paras*.

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MR. K K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*) : May I know the cost of cultivation on an average for these 14 cents ?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*) : Ordinarily paddy cultivation costs about Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per acre.

MR. N. V. JOSEPH (*Parur*) : By developing intensive cultivation, how much can we expect ?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I am coming to that point. The point that I was arguing was that the extent of wet land per head is only 14 cents, and even if we develop intensive cultivation to the utmost capacity of the land, it is not possible for us to produce all the paddy that we require. Of course, I am not in the least disagreeing with the view expressed by the members that we should do all that is possible for developing paddy cultivation. Several members said that we are not producing enough paddy. But, we are producing more cocoanuts, and we are exporting cocoanuts and realising from people outside the country more than what we pay for paddy. If it is acceptable to the people, they could convert all their cocoanut gardens into wet lands and probably it may then be possible to provide all the paddy requifed. But this is not a practical proposition. Though contingencies may arise, as during the late War, such contingencies are very rare—when we may experience difficulties in our food supply and we have to bear in mind the fact that we are living with our neighbours. While Burma produces paddy and sends it to Travancore, we are producing cocoanuts and sending them to Burma. This mutual help is an advantage to both the parties. While agreeing with the view that we should attempt to do all that is possible for increasing the production of paddy in the country, I must say that the extent of land fit for paddy cultivation in Travancore is limited and that there is no scope for extension. The only other thing that we can do is to increase the production of paddy from the existing land. The first requisite for this is additional facility for irrigation and the Travancore Government have been spending money on irrigation. They have spent—

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*) : എത്രാണ്ടു മുതൽക്കു മൈനർ ഇറിഗേഷൻ വേലകൾക്കു പണം ചിലവാക്കി വരുന്നുണ്ടു് ?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*) : I am sorry I am not in possession of the figures. My friend, the Chief Engineer, will be better able to give the information.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*) : It is only from 1096 onwards.

DR. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I am speaking of irrigation generally and not of minor irrigation. Government have spent a fairly large amount on the Kodayar Project, and, as my friend Mr. Kumara Pillai knows, the people of South Travancore have benefited by it.

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MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): It is a reproductive work.

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I am only speaking of the money that the Government have been spending on irrigation; whether it is a reproductive work or not, Government have spent money on the Kodayar Project. During recent years, members of this House have brought to the notice of Government the inadequacy of the funds allotted for minor irrigation works. I think I am right n saying that Government have been allotting more funds for minor irrigation. I know this question was discussed—

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*): വടക്കൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ മൈനർ ഇറിഗേഷൻ വർക്കംക്കായി ആണ്ടുതോറും എത്ര രൂപാ ചില വാക്കിവരുന്നുണ്ട്?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I am not sure. This is also a question which may be answered by my friend, the Chief Engineer. I know from the figures in the budget that Government have been allotting more funds for irrigation. They have appointed a special staff to investigate the question of minor irrigation in the Trivandrum Division and I think that some provision has been made for similar investigation in Quilon, Kottayam and Alwaye P.W.Divisions. I do not claim that Government have done all that is necessary for the development of minor irrigation. But they have been devoting more attention and allotting additional funds for the purpose. All that I want to point out is that Government are mindful of the need for increasing the production of paddy. For this, irrigation is necessary and Government are devoting attention to it.

Along with irrigation, Government have also been devoting their attention and funds to the popularisation of intensive methods of cultivation. More than one member referred to the utility or non-utility of carrying on experiments. I must differ from the views expressed by these members. Experiments are—in this case I am speaking also on behalf of my friend Mr. Chacko—exeperiments are necessary. We *have to* carry out certain experiments. But you say that the work stops with the experiments. We have not stopped with experiments. We have started experiments, we are continuing them, and where the experiments prove successful, we are trying to popularise the results among the people.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Our complaint is that you have not proceeded further beyond making experiments.

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I was just going to point out that I have proceeded further so far as my department is concerned. I will just give a few instances. When the Agricultural Department was formed seventeen years ago, I know as a matter of fact that the agriculturists of Travancore did not know the

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use of lime and they were of opinion that it would ruin their crops. It took all my time to persuade the people to use it, to prove that our soil is deficient in lime and that it is absolutely necessary to use it. I think our friends from Kuttanad will bear testimony to the fact that the use of lime is common now in Kuttanad. Then again, the Department showed the people how they could increase the yield of crops by using manures which they are not now using. I did not want the old manures to be replaced; but they could be supplemented. I pointed out to the people that they were wasting the fish manure, oil cakes etc. Anybody who is acquainted with the condition of Travancore now will say that our people are freely using these manures which they did not use before. I can go on giving instances like these. We are trying to popularise improved seeds. We have a paddy farm at Nagercoil, and a really clever man in charge of it. He is producing improved seeds and these are being distributed through co-operative societies among the cultivators. These are a few of the practical instances where we have gone beyond experiments.

MR. N. V. JOSEPH (*Parur*): What percentage of paddy cultivating lands has taken to these new manures?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I think in Central Travancore, Quilon, Alleppey, Karunagapalli and Kartikapalli, a very good percentage is using these manures. The people are either purchasing these directly from Government or indirectly from other sources.

MR. N. V. JOSEPH (*Parur*): Will he be able to give the percentage in figures?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I am sorry I cannot.

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): May I know if he still keeps the manure farm at Shertallai?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): No. We had a manure depôt there; but we abolished it. It was given over to a private agent. Our policy is—

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): Why was it given away?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): Because private men came forward to take up the agency. Our policy is to start these depôts and to hand them over to private agencies if they come forward to take them up.

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): Did the Department find that it was a loss because the people did not use it?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): There was no loss on account of the manure depôt. We stored some manures and sold them at cost price.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): May I know whether the application of lime has always been found successful?

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DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): In some instances, probably the soil itself contains lime and further application is unnecessary.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): Does it not deplete the manure in the land?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): Yes, it does to a certain extent, in soils which themselves contain lime. A certain proportion of lime is absolutely necessary; if you apply too much of it, it will certainly affect the fertility of the soil. But, a certain amount of lime is absolutely necessary; and our soils, as a rule, do not contain the necessary quantity.

Sir, these are some of the instances in which the department has tried to spread the results of their successful experiments. I do not think we can at any time say, 'We have finished all experiments; we can now go on with other work.' Experiments have to be continued year after year. The members on the other side of the House may be aware that there are experimental stations which have been in existence for very nearly a century like the famous Rothamstead Experimental Station. Even now, several competent men are carrying on experiments at these stations. So, these experiments are a necessary evil, whether the experiments are successful or not; and whenever any experiment proves a success, we try to demonstrate its results and we persuade the people to adopt the methods suggested by us as a result of the successful experiments. It may be that we go wrong at times. Certainly, if the members of this House point out to us our errors, we shall correct them. As several gentlemen observed, to err is human. But we are open to correction.

I must before closing, Sir, thank such of the members as pleaded on my behalf and said that agriculture requires more allotment. If you look at the expenditure incurred on account of the Agricultural Department in other countries, you will know that the argument for increasing the allotment for our Agricultural Department is reasonable. It is left to the public and the non-official members of this House to see that the money allotted is usefully spent.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I know from the Director of Agriculture whether he is speaking now on behalf of Government or on his own behalf?

DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): The last few sentences regarding the increase of the allotment for the Department of Agriculture, I spoke on my own behalf?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Sir, the time is now fast spent and I believe the House will not thank me for keeping it longer. But yet, there are things which, as the Financial Secretary who introduced the budget, I have to reply to.

The criticisms on this year's budget followed the usual lines. There were some who complimented me for presenting a fairly

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satisfactory budget. But, immediately after, they followed these complaints by making rather severe criticisms against the budget. The first thing that I have to mention about the criticisms is this. There has been a good deal of criticism. But, was there any practical constructive suggestion? (Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai, *Louder, please.*) Was there much of practical constructive suggestion? I would have welcomed constructive suggestions from the members of this House.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): Does he want constructive suggestions from us regarding the preparation of the budget?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): No, I expect, I know that myself.

I was going to say that a large number of members spoke on the uncertainty of the revenue and deprecated certain items of revenue. Some members stated that Excise revenue would certainly fail. Others pointed out that sale of Government lands should be stopped. Again, one member said that the export duty on Travancore products was injurious to trade and should be abandoned. Well, Sir, going on at this rate, I should say we would eliminate all revenue. Very few gave us any idea as to how they proposed to help the Government in the matter of improving their revenue. That I believe, is really, one of the functions of this House.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): May I know whether the Financial Secretary is aware of the fact that we cannot suggest remedies about the revenue and that that is not within our jurisdiction?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): There is absolutely nothing, I believe, against making any suggestion regarding the improvement of the State revenue. We want practical constructive suggestions from the members. There is no use in saying, 'This is wrong here; that is wrong there'.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): May I point out that retrenchment is a first class method for increasing Government revenue?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I do not believe that it is a first-class method at all. If at all it is a method, it would be a third-class method.

Well, Sir, I shall now proceed with what I have to say on the criticisms against the budget. I cannot, of course, examine in detail all the criticisms that have been raised by all the members. But, there are some general lines of criticism which I am bound to answer.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): May I point out that the criticisms were not against the Financial Secretary personally but against the heads of the respective departments?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I am speaking on the criticisms on the budget. I am not speaking of the criticisms against me personally.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): When I said '*personally*,' I meant 'personally as Financial Secretary'.

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MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): It is not necessary for me to answer that point; because, the Financial Secretary presented the budget as the budget of the Government.

Well, Sir, the first criticism which almost all the members - at least a great majority of them—gave expression to was that, though the budget shows a surplus, the surplus was an illusory one. The position of Government is rather unfortunate. If the budget happens to be a deficit, then the Government is accused of following a ruinous policy. On the other hand, if Government are able to present a surplus budget, the members begin to say that the surplus is illusory, that the items of revenue that Government expect will not be realised, and that expenditure has been stinted.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*). Does the Financial Secretary resent criticism from this side of the House?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): No. I did not say that. I only said that, whether the Government present a surplus budget or a deficit budget, Government are not able to escape criticism from the Members of this House.

MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): May I point out that the criticism was not on the surplus that he showed but on his statement that there is financial stability?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Even that statement is wrong. I never said that there is going to be financial stability. I only hoped that this year's surplus would continue hereafter.

Sir, so much was said about this surplus being an illusory one and that it really cloaks a heavy deficit that I myself wondered—like the man in the fable who purchased a goat and who was repeatedly told by all his acquaintances that what he purchased was really a dog and not a goat, so that he ultimately believed that he purchased only a dog and not a goat (*Laughter*)—whether the surplus that I had pointed out in the budget may not really be a deficit. Well, Sir, I can assure the House that, so far as my conviction goes, we have a fairly satisfactory budget.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Meenachil* cum *Devicolam*): May I know how he considers the budget a satisfactory one? Is it because there is a surplus?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): If the member will kindly allow me to speak. (*Laughter.*)

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Meenachil* cum *Devicolam*): I wish to know from the Financial Secretary how he considers the budget a satisfactory one; whether it is due to the fact that he has found a surplus of Rs. 3

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and odd lakhs or whether he considers that the revenue realised is from proper sources and the expenditure incurred is incurred in such a way as to ensure further productivity of the natural resources of the State. This, I think, is a proper question to be answered by the Financial Secretary.

PRESIDENT: I think all the world knows what 'satisfactory' means. To my mind, it does not require any further definition.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Meenachil* cum *Devicolam*): I wish to know from the Financial Secretary whether it is because of the surplus that he has shown in the budget or because he considers that the revenue is from the proper sources and the expenditure incurred on proper lines, that he considers the budget to be a satisfactory one. I, for one, think that, for a budget to be considered satisfactory, the revenue should be from proper sources and the expenditure incurred on proper lines. I think that is the criterion for judging whether a budget is satisfactory or not.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): Is the member at liberty to make a speech now, or is he only at liberty to put a question?

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Meenachil* cum *Devicolam*): I was only explaining my difficulty.

PRESIDENT: He was explaining the necessity for his question.

I do not think the member's question really calls for a serious discussion at the present moment; because, '*satisfactory*' is a term that most people understand, and Mr. George is here not to explain or even to consider the ethical bases of the sources of revenue, but merely to deal with facts and figures.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): The arguments advanced to prove that the surplus is not a real surplus are two. One is, that certain unstable items of revenue are included under receipts and the other is that the departments which serve the people—I may call them as public welfare departments—are not provided with sufficient funds. These, I believe, are the two fundamental propositions that underlie the arguments from the other side of the House. Sir, I shall try to examine both these arguments.

The first is that the Government counts upon certain uncertain items of revenue for its normal expenditure. In a sense all items of revenue except *ayacut* land revenue are uncertain. For intance, take income tax. It depends upon the prosperity of trade. Take Customs. It depends upon the growth of exports and imports, that is, the volume of trade. Or, take the revenue from Excise or Salt. It depends on consumption. In fact, I could not think of any absolutely stable revenue. If we exclude these items of revenue, then there is nothing left to include. I am free to admit that there are two items of revenue which will shrink gradually and may perhaps be extinguished ultimately. Those two items are, revenue from the sale of Government lands and the Abkari revenue. I make a distinction between Abkari revenue and Excise Revenue because Excise includes tobacco also.

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MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I know from the Financial Secretary whether there is any chance of the Abkari revenue going down in the near future and whether he anticipates any reduction under that item in the near future?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): That is the hope which the House itself has expressed. As regards the sale of Government lands, I do not share the view of Mr. Raman Menon that the sale of Government lands is objectionable. On the other hand, every acre of land which is now in the possession of Government, except the reserved forests, should, in my opinion, be placed at the disposal of the people for productive uses. So, I think the policy of Government in the sale of Government lands is right.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I only said that the Government should not increase current expenditure relying on sales of land and that the sums which are realised by the sale of Government lands should be spent for the protection of the cultivated areas, which stand in need of them.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I perfectly agree with Mr. Raman Menon that the revenue from the sale of these land should not be spent for increasing the recurring expenditure. But, for a prudent financier, it is a revenue that will not stop in the near future. I believe we have lands to sell for a quarter of a century more.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): May I know from the member whether he has any figures in support of that statement?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): No. That is my information.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): Does the Revenue Commissioner give figures?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): No.

Then coming to Excise revenue, I agree that the abkari revenue is not one of which we need be proud. But even there what as a financier I have to do is to consider the possibilities. Here is an item of revenue which may gradually shrink, perhaps in the course of another twenty-five years. Am I to consider it in framing the budget for the coming year and make an allowance for it when the receipts and expenditure are not at all affected by the tendency which the revenue may show in future? I do not believe that will be correct nor do I think that such budgetting is done in any country. If Excise revenue disappears ultimately, I must say it is a thing which has to be replaced. We cannot reduce our expenditure on the possibility that our Excise revenue may ultimately be extinguished. The time has not come to consider it and perhaps it may come only twenty-five years hence when none of us will be on the stage, and somebody else will have to consider

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the problem of replacing it. I do not think there is any other item of revenue which we need consider as revenue which will disappear. Although certain items of revenue are fluctuating, yet every year they come and Government are in a position to calculate with more or less certainty as to what they are going to get under those fluctuating items. Some members on the other side referred to fees and fines. Certainly every year Government are bound to get some receipts under fees and fines, though the exact amount may be uncertain.

The second charge is that Government are stinting expenditure on the public welfare departments. That is a point which my friend Mr. Kumara Pillai emphasised; and in doing so he traversed a period of fifteen years. I believe he does not say that in the next year we have done any considerable stinting.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): From 1095 to 1099.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I do not mean to traverse the entire ground; but even there I have to point out that his statement is not quite correct. I shall compare the figures of 1090 with those of 1101. I take 1090, because that was the year in which we spent the largest amount under the head Public Works and as it will be fair to compare it with the year 1101. In 1090, the Agricultural Department spent Rs. 81,000 and in 1101 we have provided Rs. 1,96,000. In 1090 we spent nothing on the Industries Department but in the coming year we have provided a sum of Rs. 1,72,000. Under Medical,

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): Was the Department of Industries in existence in 1090?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): No. Under Medical and Sanitary, we have provided for a sum of Rs. 8,81,000 for the year 1101.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): Will Mr. George give us separate figures for the Sanitary Department?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I have not got separate figures for the Sanitary Department. For the Medical and Sanitary Departments in 1090, Rs. 6,11,273 was allotted.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I just point out that there is no use in the comparison without knowing the proportionate rise in the revenue?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I am only showing that the public welfare departments have been given more and more money.

In the Education Department, we spent Rs. 18,31,000 and now it is Rs. 38 lakhs and odd.

The only department where the allotment of 1090 has been reduced is the P. W. D. Even here there has been a welcome change in the

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[Mr. K. George.]

direction of expenditure. In 1090, the expenditure was distributed as follows :

Buildings	Rs.	9,93,662
Communications	,,	15,75,648
Miscellaneous Public Improvements	,,	99,500
Minor Irrigation	,,	42,379

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*) : What is the grand total ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : Rs. 27,11,189

MR. C. P. TARAKAN (*Kunnatnad*) : വടക്കൻ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഗതാഗത മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾക്കായി ൧൯൦൯-ൽ എത്ര പണം നീക്കിവച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട് ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : That is a question which my friend the Chief Engineer has to answer. I cannot answer it without a detailed examination of the Budget.

The allotment for 1101 is as follows :

Buildings (including Delhi Palace and Military and Anchal buildings)	Rs.	4,64,704
Communications—	,,	15,22 318

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*) : What is the allotment for original works on communication ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : I have not made a separate calculation of it.

For communications in 1101 the allotment is Rs. 15,22,318 ; for miscellaneous public improvements it is Rs. 1,08,753 and for minor irrigation it is Rs. 1,39,226. There is a decrease no doubt in the allotment of the next year to the extent of Rs. 5,00,000. But it is almost wholly under ' Buildings.' Under ' Communications ' there is a small decrease but there is a reserve of about Rs. 30,000 with the Chief Engineer. The deficiency, I think, will probably be made good in the course of the next year if there is necessity.

In this connection, it is well to remember that there is a limit in the annual expenditure on P. W. D., the limit being the maximum spending capacity of the P. W. D. in 1090. The establishment of the P. W. D. consisted of 9 Executive Engineers, 18 Assistant and Sub-Engineers and 63 Overseers (now known as Supervisors). The present staff consist of 6 Executive Engineers, 16 Assistant and Sub-Engineers and 49 Supervisors.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : May I ask Mr. George whether he will not make a difference regarding the nature of the work, say, between road-making and building ?

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MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I cannot answer. That is more or less a technical question. So I am not competent to answer. After making large reductions in establishment, we cannot expect the department to maintain its old spending capacity and so it will not be possible to give the P. W. D. work beyond a maximum limit and the question is whether Government are making them work up to that stage. As regards the other public welfare departments it is true that Government would like to spend more on these departments, but it is not enough merely to spend money; we must spend wisely.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam cum Vilavankod*): Does he think that the expenditure on the Vanchiyur School and the Nagercoil School was wisely incurred?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I am not taking about the P. W. D. now. I am now speaking of the other development departments. If useful schemes are sent up, I have no doubt money will be forthcoming, provided of course the schemes do not consist merely of increasing establishments. I may tell the House that we have got a fairly large reserve. Other surplus investments by the end of the next month would be about Rs. 1,16,00,000 of which if we deduct about Rs. 19,00,000 for writing down the value of 3 and 3½ per cent. securities, we will still have a balance of nearly a crore; so that if it comes to that, we can finance schemes from our reserve.

Another criticism that was made was that the surplus in the budget is not an index of the growing prosperity of the State. That is a very large question, and there is no use to argue about it. We have not got definite data to make any assertion that way. Sir, if between the years 1098 and 1101, Government have not levied additional taxes, and nevertheless the annual revenue shows a substantial increase, what is it an indication of, if not of increased prosperity?

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): In view of the dislocation and depression of trade between 1099 and 1100, may I ask how the Financial Secretary accounts for the increase in income tax on business?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): That there was depression of trade is a statement that the member makes. I have no positive information as to that.

MR S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): In his budget statement, the Financial Secretary states that there was a dislocation of trade in 1099. This year also he states the same thing.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I did not state that; I expected some dislocation of business owing to the floods.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): In 1100?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes, in 1100 also. What does the member want to know?

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MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): The income tax on business has increased by '77 lakh. May I know how he accounts for that?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): The Income Tax Commissioner will be able to explain that later on.

The point I was making is this. Between 1098 and 1101 there was an increase in taxation. I say that it denotes increase in prosperity. Anyhow I do not want to labour the point.

Another important criticism that has been urged and that comes every year before this House is the question of increased salaries. Sir, I thought that, by the explanations given in the two previous years, I had laid that question to rest. But since it is being repeated, I must say something with respect to that also. It has been stated that the administration is top-heavy. By that I suppose it is meant that there are too many officers at the top and that their pay is excessive. As regards the number of officers, no one has stated which particular department has got an excess of staff. The budget, both at the time of presentation to the Finance Committee and afterwards to this House is subjected to very careful scrutiny and yet no member has definitely fixed on any particular appointment as excessive.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I know whether it is open to the Finance Committee to alter the appointments?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): They can recommend the abolition of posts?

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*) Even to recommend?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes, they can recommend. Part I of the Budget is referred to them.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Is it for being scrutinised?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum cum Neduvangad*): Can the members make any such recommendation at the time of the general discussion of the budget?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): The general discussion is followed by voting.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Is the Financial Secretary aware that, during the last three years, this House has expressed in unmistakable terms its dissent in the case of appointments which they thought were top-heavy?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I was just about to say that there may have been a particular appointment here or another there which the House may have voted for reduction. But was there any possibility of a substantial reduction in the establishments in any departments?

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Sir, the increased complexity of the administration, the enactment of new laws and the increase of institutions such as the schools and colleges, new courts and dispensaries and the creation and expansion of new departments are, I believe, the direct causes for the increased number of officers appointed. An analysis of the figures shows that, out of about Rs. 77½ lakhs spent on salaries in all the departments of the State, Rs. 35¾ lakhs is spent on the departments grouped under moral and material development. Education alone gets Rs. 25¼ lakhs; the salaries in the Judicial Department amount to Rs. 9¾ lakhs; the revenue collecting departments together spend only Rs. 17¼ lakhs, that is about Rs. 8 lakhs less than the Education Department. Sir, an impartial study of the figures will convince any one that cost of salaries in the administrative departments in Travancore is exceptionally low.

Then as regards the reputed fat salaries, I wish I had time to analyse the contention in some detail. I would mention only one point. Most of the departmental heads are now drawing salaries fixed for their appointments several years ago. Some of them are drawing even less salaries than their predecessors used to get. The Dewan Peishkars, the High Court Judges, the Executive Engineers and the Surgeons are all getting salaries fixed for them several years ago. The Division Assistants, the Conservator of Forests, the Professors of Colleges, the Excise Commissioner, the Sanitary Commissioner and several others are drawing pay which is very much less than what their predecessors used to get.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam cum Vilavankod*): പ്രൊഫ്യൂഗനായ്ക്ക് ഒന്നാണ്ടായിരുന്ന ജോലികളെല്ലാം ഇന്നുണ്ടോ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Does Mr. Kumara Pillai suggest a reduction in the pay of the Division Peishkars?

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): What about the salary of the Police Commissioner?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): His is perhaps the solitary instance, but then he is a British Officer whose services are lent to the State.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambulapuzha*): What about the pay of the Professors?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): The pay of the professors has been reduced. Formerly the minimum pay of the Professors was Bh. Rs. 400 and the maximum Bh Rs. 750 per mensem. The annual increment was Bh. Rs. 50. Now the minimum pay of the Professors is reduced to Rs. 300 and the maximum Rs. 700 per mensem. The annual increment is also reduced to Rs. 25. That in my opinion is a very substantial reduction.

Several members stated that, whenever a department is reorganised, the salaries of the superior officers are raised. I say that that statement is opposed to facts. In the last revision of the salaries in 1098, the

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claims of those who drew Rs. 50 and less per mensem were first considered and then the cases of those who drew between Rs. 50 and Rs. 150 per mensem. There were only rare cases in which the pay of officers getting more than Rs. 150 was increased. The pay of the heads of departments was not touched at all. On the contrary, the complaint in recent years has been that, whenever an opportunity occurred, Government reduced the pay of the heads of departments.

Now, I wish to refer to one or two other points about which there was some discussion. There has been some confusion in the minds of the members in regard to what I said about educational expenditure. I did not say that there must be ruthless retrenchment in educational expenditure; but even such a clear-headed person as my friend Mr. Subba Aiyar spoke as if I did so.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I did not make any mistake. What I said was that we cannot reduce this expenditure, but we must find out some sources of revenue. I did not mean to criticise anybody.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): That was not however the impression that I had of Mr. Subba Aiyar's speech. However, somebody referred to that part of my speech and said that I suggested ruthless retrenchment in our educational expenditure. I did not say anything of the kind. All that I said was that we must consider our resources and settle the pace of future advancement with reference to those resources. In the matter of education, a policy of stagnation is unthinkable. It will not only be unwise but also impracticable. A prudent Government has, however, to determine the direction and extent of the advancement and see what steps should be taken to finance such development as is decided upon. That is all that I said.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum cum Neduvangad*): What is the impression likely to be left by the expression "staggering growth of expenditure"?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I wanted prominently to draw the attention of the House to the rapid growth of educational expenditure.

MR. G. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Was the Financial Secretary aware of the report of the Education Expenditure Committee drafted by him about five years ago when he made that statement?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes, certainly. That only shows that the matter had come to the notice of the Government even five years ago.

Then there is another point—a small point—which somebody raised in the House about the differences in certain figures. First, I will speak on the estimate under rebate of duty on opium.

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MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I referred to it.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): In the Assembly address of the Dewan Mr. Raghaviah, it was said that we expected Rs. 2½ lakhs annually under that head. But we have provided only Rs. 1·2 lakhs next year. The agreement came into effect from the 1st of April 1925; but a little before that we had purchased a stock of opium. In the next financial year, we may purchase only about 3,000 seers and that accounts for the reduction in this amount of the rebate.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I have suggested the same explanation.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I might refer to another point that was referred to, namely, how the loan turned into an investment.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): It was not discussed, Sir.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Sir, may I supply the information to the House?

PRESIDENT: It is not quite necessary.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): About the difference in figures of the Account Officer and those of the departmental officers, I may say that the Account Officer's figures are based on actualities. If there is any difference between the Account Office figures and the departmental figures, more often than not, the departmental figures may be wrong. Some items classified under one head in the Account Office may be classified under some other head in the departmental accounts. In the particular case referred to by Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, I believe a greater portion of the difference is due to difference in classification. Under the head 'minor produce', the Forest Department included various items like bamboo, ivory, etc., which are separately accounted for in the Account Officer's books.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): You have no common understanding?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): There is a clear and definite understanding so far as the Account Office classification is concerned. It follows the budget heads. But for some purpose or other, the departments may group them in some other manner.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): Are the totals the same?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): In some cases, there may be some difference in the totals also. That may be due to certain adjustments which may be made by the departments in the one year but which the Account Officer may include only in the next year's accounts.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara cum Kartikapalli*): May I know from Mr. George whether all the Government reports including those prepared by the Account Officer as well as those prepared by the

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[Mr. G. Raman Menon.]

Heads of Departments do not relate to accounts as they stand on a particular date ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Certainly.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): As accounts stand upon that date, all the Heads of Departments and the Account Officer are expected to prepare their statements.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): There is a small bit of technique in that. Errors in classification may be discovered, after the year is over and to adjust these, accounts are kept open for a period of three months after the close of the financial year. The errors are rectified in the Account Office during these three months. It may however happen that the differences are brought to the notice of the Account Officer only after the year's accounts are closed and he is not able to discover those errors.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): Will the Financial Secretary give an instance of such a mistake or adjustment ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes, any number of them.

MR. T. J. MATTHEW (*Changanachery* cum *Peermade*): May I have one single instance ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Suppose the Forest Department sells timber to another department and sends the invoice in Karkatakam and takes credit for it in Karkatakam itself. On the other hand, the invoice may come to the Account Office only in Vrischikam and so the amount may be credited to the Forest Department only in the next year.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): അഡ്മിനി സ്ട്രേഷൻ റിപ്പോർട്ടിലും സ്റ്റാറിസ്ടിക്സ് വാല്യത്തിലും കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള സംഖ്യകൾക്ക വ്യത്യാസമുള്ളപ്പോൾ ഏതാണ് ശരിയെന്ന വിചാരിക്കേണ്ടത് ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I do not know that. All that I can say is that my figures are accurate. (*Laughter.*)

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): അക്കൌണ്ടാഫീസ്സരുടെ സംഖ്യകൾ ഏതുറിപ്പോർട്ടിലാണ് കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുക ?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): The accounts are published.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): അഡ്മിനി സ്ട്രേഷൻ റിപ്പോർട്ടിലെ സംഖ്യകൾ അക്കൌണ്ടാഫീസ്സരുടെതാണോ ?

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MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): I believe it is the Account Office figures that are appended to the *Administration Report*.

Lastly, I must refer to the question of treasury defalcation raised by Mr. P. K. Narayana Pillai. Mr. Narayana Pillai referred in a sarcastic way to the *Appropriation Report* issued by the Account Officer and said that a misappropriation report will also have to be issued by me. Sir, as it happens, something like a misappropriation report is issued by me every year. Every year I submit to Government an *Audit Report* in which reference is made to all embezzlements and other financial irregularities that took place during the year. I have got here the report on the accounts of 1099 in which detailed reference is made to this defalcation. I think it will make the matter somewhat clear if I read from this report.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): The amount defalcated is set forth there, I suppose?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes. The following is from the Report:

"The most important of the financial irregularities relating to the year under review is the systematic defalcation of Government money amounting to Rs. 10,900 and odd practised by the Divisional Treasury Officer, Quilon. The defalcation covered a period of 19 months from Chingam 1098 to Meenam 1099. It remained undetected for such a long time as the monthly returns and accounts submitted by the Divisional Treasury Officer to the Account Office were different from those maintained at the treasury. And most of those returns were also prepared by the Divisional Treasury Officer in his own handwriting purposely to keep the treasury staff also in complete ignorance of what was going on. The defalcations were however brought to light in the following manner :—

The then Treasury Officer took charge of the treasury early in 1098 and from that time the monthly returns due to the Account Officer such as Objection Statements with replies, Cash Accounts, Lists of Payments and Stamp Returns were not submitted in time and they were prepared very carelessly. Complaints against him were received from Heads of Departments and offices who had dealings with the treasury. And as correspondence on the subject directly with him and also through the Controlling Officer did not improve matters, the matter had to be reported to Government, and as a result, he was transferred from the Quilon treasury to Trivandrum as the Superintendent of Mint and Stamp Manufactory in Meenam 1099.

Before his transfer from the Quilon Treasury, he had got a blank withdrawal form signed by a depositor who tendered his Savings Bank Pass Book for closing the account. By means of this signed withdrawal form, the Divisional Treasury Officer withdrew a sum of Rs. 300 from the depositor's account and misappropriated it and no entry was made in the Pass Book regarding the amount withdrawn. He then submitted the Pass Book to the Account Officer for closing the account. But before the Pass Book was closed and returned to the treasury for payment, he had been transferred from the treasury. When the Pass Book was returned to the treasury ordering the payment of the whole amount, the then Treasury Officer reported that the Savings Bank Ledger and other connected records of the treasury showed that a sum of Rs. 300 out of that account had already been paid from the treasury. Suspicion was thus aroused and thereupon an Assistant Account Officer was deputed to examine the treasury records to verify the report made by the Divisional Treasury Officer and it was then that the defalcations were brought to light. The details of this defalcation are too voluminous to be introduced in this report".

I do not want to weary the House by a narration of these details. I want to mention one fact however. In this matter, as in the

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case of every irregularity which the Account Officer in the course of his audit discovers, it is his duty first to correspond with the person who has committed the irregularity, then with his Controlling Officer or Officers, and in the last instance to report to Government. This is the procedure which the Account Officer has to follow in the case of every irregularity. And I may inform the House that in this particular case also, he has followed this procedure.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : Are not the monthly returns from various departments which had dealings with that treasury checked along with the monthly returns sent by the Quilon Treasury Officer? For example, does not the Account Office get a monthly return from the Stamp Manufactory?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : Yes.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : Is such a return from the Stamp Manufactory checked along with the monthly return received from the Quilon Treasury?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : Yes.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : Was there not a possibilty of detecting this fraud earlier by such comparison of the figures supplied in the monthly return?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : Up to Vrischikam 1098, all the stamp returns received from the Treasury officer were prepared in such a way as to agree with the Treasury accounts. From Dhanu 1098 onwards, he began to send the stamp returns irregularly. No suspicion was aroused then as Treasury officers sometimes send the returns late, with the result that when Dhanu return would come we would check and find out some difference and then communicate with him. Then he would reply that it was a clerical error. In the meantime, two months would have elpased. Then the return for the next month would come. There again it does not agree with the previous return.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : May I know whether such disagreements were discovered long before the actual suspicion of the crime was aroused in the mind of the Account Officer?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : They were discovered from Dhanu 1098 onwards. Correspondence went on with the Treasury Officer.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : For how long a period was the correspondence going on?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : Up to Mithunam 1098.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*) : For a period of five months?

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MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes. Sometimes we have to carry on correspondence for two years and more before we can rectify the errors. This correspondence was carried on for five months. Then I reported to the controlling authority. Unfortunately, the reply from the controlling officer was received only in Tulam 1099, *i. e.*, only after five months and even then the reply was only to the effect that the Treasury Officer had been instructed to rectify the mistakes. I waited for some time more. Then in Makaram 1099 I reported the matter to Government. In that report I pointed out to the Government that stamp returns were very irregularly sent and urged on the Government to transfer the Treasury Officer from Quilon. Thus it was as a result of the initiative taken by the Account Officer that the whole thing came to light. In this connection, I may read to the House the rules in the Account Code regarding the control of treasuries.

"The Treasury is under the immediate charge of the Treasury Officer but the Dewan Peishkar and the Commissioner, Devicolam, will have general administrative control over the treasuries in their respective Divisions.

The next Section (314) says:—

"The Account Officer directs all important communications regarding Treasury work to the controlling officer. The replies to such communications and all important references should be sent under the signature of the controlling officer or with his approval. The appointment of a subordinate to the immediate charge of a Treasury in no way relieves the controlling officer from responsibility. This responsibility extends not only to the security of the cash balance with the stamps and other Government property and the detection of any irregular practice on the part of the subordinates, but also to the proper maintenance of all accounts and registers, the correctness of the returns and the punctuality of their submission and to the implicit obedience of the Treasury Officer to the instructions issued from the Account Office."

That clearly explains the respective responsibilities of the Account Officer and of the Peishkars who control the Treasury. Government have also laid down in what manner the control has to be exercised by the Peishkars. If the House wants to hear that, I am prepared—

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): May I know whether this particular figure is now entered in the State accounts anywhere?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): It has been transferred to the head of 'Advances' and is now held as a liability against the Treasury Officer.

MR. P. K. NARAYANA PILLAI (*Ambalapuzha*): It now exists as 'Advance'?

MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*): Yes, as recoverable advance.

MR. T. KUMARA PILLAI (*Kalkulam* cum *Vilavankod*): ഈ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻ കൽക്കുളം ട്രഷറി ആഫീസർ ആയിരുന്നകാലത്തു സർക്കാർ പണം എടുത്തു സ്വന്ത ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു് ഉപയോഗിച്ചിരുന്ന എന്ന ചാർജ്ജുകൂടെ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

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MR. K. GEORGE (*Financial Secretary to Government*) : I have not heard of any such thing.

Sir, I believe there is no other point which needs dwelling upon.

PRESIDENT : The House will now adjourn till 11-30 next Thursday morning.

The House adjourned at 6-30 P. M.

T. P. RAMASUBBA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

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